DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 071 966 SO 005 206

AUTHOR	Grotelueschen, Thomas
TITLE	Political Orientations of Black Children in Northern Florida. Final Report.
INSTITUTION	Florida Univ., Gainesville. P. K. Yonge Lab. School.
SPONS AGENCY	National Center for Educational Research and Development (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C. Regional Research Program.
BUREAU NO	BR-2-D-018
PUB DATE	Aug 72
GRANT	OEG-4-72-0013
NOTE	121p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS	*Educational Research; Elementary School Students; Ethnic Groups; Minority Group Children; *Negroes; *Political Attitudes; *Political Socialization; Student Attitudes

ABSTRACT

Designed to investigate the political orientation of Black children and, further, to use the findings for determining the need for appropriate political education programs, this study describes the political attitudes of 707 Black elementary school children (283 rural and 404 urban) from Northern Florida. Through questionnaires, and follow-up interviews of 78 subjects, research data were gathered on the political efficacy and trust; image of the government, president, and policeman; and trust and efficacy reactions to three levels of government. These areas of investigation were selected on the basis of their theoretical significance relative to children's developing political orientations. Findings indicate that the subjects were found to: hold generally low levels of political efficacy and trust; negatively evaluate the government and the president, but positively evaluate the policeman; perceive the local government as more facilitative of political efficacy than the Federal or state governments; and perceive the Federal government as more trustworthy than state or local governments. (Author/SJM)

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Final Report

Project No. 2-D-018
Grant No. OEG-4-72-0013

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POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS OF BLACK CHILDREN IN NORTHERN FLORIDA

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University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

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The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant with the Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

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PREFACE

Recent political socialization studies have determined sharp differences between the political orientation of Black and White elementary school children. White children have proven to be consistently and highly positive in their political outlook while there appears to be growing political negativism among the Black children.

Although the studies involving White elementary school children have been extensive, the amount of research concerned with the political orientations of Black children is scant by comparison and has been conducted almost exclusively in northern urban centers.

The present investigation was designed to add further dimension to the knowledge regarding the political socialization of the Black sub culture by focusing on the political orientations of Black children from an urban and a rural area of the South. A second and equally important purpose was to be served by this study, namely; to use the findings in helping determine the need for appropriate political education programs.

Although many individuals helped to implement the present investigation, Dr. Martha Chang, Research Director of the University of Florida's FAIS Project, was especially generous in her assistance with the data processing and analysis.

ABSTRACT

As a means of providing data relative to the need for political education programs, the present investigation sought to describe the political orientations of 707 Black elementary school children from northern Florida. This population included 283 rural and 404 urban subjects.

Seven areas of investigation were included in the study: (1) political efficacy, (2) political trust, (3) image of the government, (4) image of the President, (5) image of the policeman, (6) efficacy reactions to three levels of government, and (7) trust reactions to three levels of government. These areas of investigation were selected on the basis of their theoretical significance relative to children's developing political orientations.

The research data were gathered through the administration of a paper and pencil survey, and through follow - up interviews of 78 subjects.

The research population was found to indicate the following:

(1) generally low levels of political efficacy
(2) generally low levels of political trust
(3) negative evaluations of the government and the President
(4) positive evaluations of the policeman
(5) perceptions of the local government as more facilitative of political efficacy than the Federal or Florida state governments
(6) perceptions of the Federal government as more trustworthy than the Florida state or local governments.

PART I - INTRODUCTION

Project Objective

It is widely held among authorities in the field of curriculum theory that decisions to change and/or develop curricula should be guided by a careful consideration of the findings from relevant and substantial research. In practice, however, this is frequently not the case. Much curriculum alteration and development occurs directly as a result of changes in philosophical positions taken by schools' controlling agencies, through shifts in theoretical assertions regarding the nature of knowledge and the disciplines, and often times through educator's desires to be "in" with new curricular trends. Seldom is such change guided by research which has focused on the specific children to be involved in new or altered curricula.

Research of this kind may be beyond the means of many school systems and agencies. But without adequate research data, decisions affecting curricula lack authority and power.

Data from research, however, cannot be the only basis for developing curricula. It must also be determined whether a proposed curriculum is appropriate for the schools in which it is to be installed. A curriculum designed to promote one particular religion, for example, is not considered appropriate for the public school. However, programs designed to help children develop proficiency in math skills are widely accepted as appropriate.

The research project described in the present report was based first on the assertion that political education is a proper and necessary concern of the public school and secondly that the development of political education programs must be guided by adequate research.

The present investigation was, therefore, designed to serve the following two purposes.

1. To examine and describe the basic political orientations of elementary school Black children in Northern Florida.
2. To use these findings in determining the need for appropriate political education programs.

Background of the Study

The political education of each new generation has long been viewed as a highly significant endeavor. Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Mill and Dewey among others have all delt with the importance and the implications of children learning and internalizing the political norms and values of their society. There has also been (and is)

widespread consensus that early childhood is the most critical time for these processes to occur. Both conventional wisdom and contemporary theory have stressed early childhood as a crucial period in the formation of one's basic life orientations. The Catholic Church has, for example, long claimed that if it is allowed to influence the first seven years of a child's life, his basic loyalties could be little changed thereafter. Contemporary social learning theorists also stress the importance of early learning experiences as affectors of adult attitudes and behaviors and there is impressive evidence to support this position.[1]

Although the significance of childhood learnings have been widely accepted by social scientists, studies of the political orientations of young children were virtually nonexistant until the early 1960's. Since then extensive research has been conducted in this area. For the most part, however, the various studies have focused on children from predominantly white middle class urban areas.[2]

There has been painfully little research dealing with the political orientation of subcultural children. Of the studies which have dealt with these children, Black youngsters have received the most attention, yet research data concerning the Black child's political orientation remain comparatively scant.

Not only are there few studies which have dealt specifically with the political outlook of the Black child, but the results of these investigations are conflicting.

In an investigation conducted by Dennis it was found that Black children* indicated positive political dispositions as reflected in their feelings of political trust, political efficacy, their sense of voting duty, and their general approval of the government.[3]

Further evidence of Black children's positive dispositions toward the political was reported by Jaros.[4] As part of his study Jaros compared Black and White children's perceptions of the President. The Black children indicated highly favorable reactions to the President, and they were found to be even more positive in this regard than were White children surveyed.

In a related study, Schnepf investigated the dispositions of Black children toward the police and the law.[5] She, too, reported that these dispositions were generally positive in nature.

Two other studies, however, one by Lyons and one by Greenberg, discovered Black children indicating negative political outlooks.[6,7]

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*Throughout this section the term "children" refers to youngsters who have not yet reached the high school grades (9-12). It should be noted, however, that in a few cases the populations of the studies reviewed here included some high school students.

The Lyons investigation involved a comparison of the political trust-cynicism and political efficacy levels of Black and White children. The findings showed Black children to be more politically cynical than White children at every level of schooling. Black children also indicated generally low feelings of efficacy - significantly lower than the levels indicated by the White children surveyed.

Greenberg's study also involved a comparison of Black and White children. These youngsters rated the government, the President, and the policeman in terms of positive and negative attributes. In all these areas the Black child's overall ratings tended to be negative while the White children indicated generally positive ratings.

Although the populations of these studies have varied in terms of positive and negative political orientations these findings stand in sharp contrast to the results of studies focused on the modal (White, middle class, urban) child. With remarkable regularity various investigators have found the modal child to be highly positive in his political orientations.[8] So consistent have these findings been that one group of authorities has suggested they " . . . might be classified as the conventional wisdom of the discipline."[9]

The research data are too limited to draw any conclusions about the degree and range of difference in the political orientations of Black and White children. But, if wide ranging and significant differences do exist between these youngsters such differences may well lead to stress in the American political scene. In this regard Greenberg has noted the following:

> ... other things being equal, a polity that finds major segments of its population in disagreement over the very nature of the political order will be more unstable than a polity where no such cleavage exists. Only by sharing certain minimal but nonetheless basic orientations can a political system maintain itself without excessive reliance on other devices such as coercion and intimidation.[10]

Further research will be needed to gain insights relative to this area of political concern.

A need for further research is also indicated by what might possibly be a trend toward increasing political negativism among Black children. This possibility is based on the fact that the most recent studies (Greenberg and Lyons) found Black children indicating negative political outlooks, while earlier studies (Jaros and Schnepf) found these children to be positive in outlook. The Dennis study, however, which is also quite recent, "muddies" the picture as he discovered Black children indicating generally positive political dispositions. Determining whether there is a movement toward political negativism among Black youth must await further research.

Not only are there too limited a number of studies on which to base generalizations about the political orientations of Black children, but the existing research is further limited in that it has been conducted almost exclusively in northern urban centers. For a more comprehensive picture of the Black child's political outlook, research needs to be conducted in a variety of geographic areas especially in the South. Because the South is the original American "home" of the Black culture and because large numbers of Black people presently reside there, this region is appropriate for the type of research discussed here.

Finally, additional research focused on the political orientations of Black children is necessary to determine the need for political education programs. It is asserted here that if a widespread and strong negative political orientation is found among Black children an educational need will have been defined.*

Extensive programs of investigation are required to serve all the research needs discussed here. However, such programs are likely to be beyond the means of a single investigator. Because of this, the present study has focused on a limited but significant subcultural population, namely; southern Black elementary school children from both rural and urban settings. As noted previously these children represent an important sub population of the American Black culture yet data relative to their political orientations are virtually non existant.

With this population as the focus of the present investigation, answers to the following two research questions were sought:

1. What is the nature of their political orientations?
2. Within this population of children what differences appear in the political orientations of boys and girls, those in various economic, age, and I.Q. levels and those from rural and urban settings.

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*It should be strongly emphasized, that the present investigator does not perceive the existance of negative political attitudes as the sign of a "sickness" that needs curing. Indeed, negative political orientations among Black people might well be expected given the political and social inequities they have suffered in this society. Nevertheless, the position taken here is that a dominance of negative political attitudes among Black children within a White society whose children are overwhelmingly positive in their political orientations foreshadows, as noted above, a volitile political situation. Thus the educational need implied here is not that of reversing negative political attitudes but of making all youngsters aware of this society's political needs and the implications of political inequities. And, of even more significance is the need for educational programs which promote a desire to seek goals which minimize inequities within the political realm.

Answers to these questions can provide research data relative to the need for political education programs and add further dimension to the rather limited body of knowledge concerning the political development of the Black child.

Limits of the Study
Definitions and Discussion of Areas to Be Investigated

In the present study four general areas of investigation were delt with. They included:

1) Political Efficacy
2) Political Trust
3) Images of salient political objects - the President, the government, and the policeman
4) Comparative evaluations of the Federal, state, and local governments.

The first three of the above areas served as measures of the child's basic political orientation and the fourth was used to determine whether the child's orientation differed in relation to the Federal, state, or his local government.

The child's basic political orientation refers to the overall evaluative stance of the child toward his political system. This orientation is essentially affective in nature and reflects feelings toward the political realm rather than factual information regarding political matters.

A wide variety of attitudinal measures have been used by investigators to seek insights into children's basic political dispositions. These range from the child's reactions to the aesthetic qualities of the Flag to his perceptions of the nature of democracy. As noted above the measures of political efficacy, political trust, and images of salient political objects were used in determining the basic political orientations of this study's subjects. The definitions of these areas and a discussion of their theoretical significance and of their appropriateness as areas of investigation with children are presented below.

Political efficacy is defined here as the individual's sense of political potency; a feeling that the citizen's individual action can or does have an impact on the political process, that the government is responsive to the citizen's desires, and therefore, that the government can be controlled.

As an area of investigation, political efficacy is significant because of its importance to citizens in a democracy. The literature and rhetoric of those concerned with the basic tenets of our political society are replete with references to both the right and obligation of the citizen to watch over and influence the government.

The citizens' feelings of political efficacy also have implications for the political system as a whole. As the members of a society internalize or become attached to their political system's norms, such as political efficacy, a sense of legitimacy for that

system is established. And, it is this sense of legitimacy on which the system relies for support during times of stress such as an economic crisis.[11]

Even though the child is remote from actual participation in political matters, there is a body of research to indicate that feelings of political efficacy appear to form during childhood.[12] Furthermore, there is evidence that such feelings once formed appear to remain quite stable throughout one's adult life.[13]

Political trust is defined as a basic evaluative posture towards the government; a general feeling which reflects a trust or mistrust orientation toward the political and political actors.[14]

This area of investigation is significant in that citizens who trust their government and its officials are likely to be supportive of the political system in which they live. The politically cynical (non trusting) are at best doubtful sources of system support.[15]

The appropriateness of political trust as an area of investigation with children has been well established by prior research. Investigators such as Jaros, Greenberg, Lyons and Dennis among others have found that even relatively young children appear to form affective dispositions toward political objects which they are willing to express in terms of a trust-cynicism continuum.[16] In this regard, Jennings and Neimi have commented that political trust-cynicism affect appears to be rooted in childhood and that judgments along this dimension have been elicited from, " . . . the youngest samples for which question and answer techniques have been developed."[17]

Image of the President, government and policeman refer to the child's perceptions of these political objects in terms of characteristics such as intelligence, power, benevolence and honesty.

Both the appropriateness and importance of investigating children's reactions to the President, government and the policeman have been well documented. In their research, Dennis and Easton and Hess and Tourney have found that youngsters develop feeling level dispositions toward these political objects at relatively early ages.[18] Furthermore the child's evaluative posture toward political objects appears to develop even before he has any vaguely reasonable notion of their political functions.[19]

One consistent finding of political socialization research is that the President appears to be the most salient political object within the child's vision.[20] Even at the second grade level children readily indicate that they "know" and are emotionally attached to the President. And, although children's evaluations of the President become less personalized as they mature, he remains a central and positive figure in their view of the political realm. These findings have led a number of authorities to conclude that the President appears to be the primary figure in the political socialization of children. In this regard Jaros et. al. have remarked:

> The Presidency provides an introduction: notions first held toward this role are probably subsequently generalized to other political institutions and to the entity of government itself.[21]

Greenstein and Easton and Dennis have also noted that the feelings originally extended toward the President may well be the avenue through which children learn attachment to the political system as a whole.[22]

Political socialization research has also found that the policeman is an important figure in the child's political view. Children throughout the various levels of schooling see the policeman as a significant political figure - a member of the government before and even after they develop an awareness of senators, the Congress and the Supreme Court.[23] The importance of this in terms of the child's basic political outlook lies in the Easton and Dennis assertion that because the child closely associates the policeman and the government, the youngster's feelings about him are valid indicators of his feelings for the political regime.[24]

The child's image of the government is also important in that research has found this image to be similar and closely related to that of the President and the policeman. Youngsters appear to develop a sense of "knowing" the government at early ages. Furthermore research in this area indicates that as the child matures he tends to maintain his early feeling level dispositions toward the government.[25]

It was recognized that the five areas discussed here were not the only ones which might be used to gain the type of information sought in the present investigation. Attachment to the nation, perceptions of the law and judgments of citizen responsibility might also be employed as measures of one's basic political outlook. However, the fact that this study dealt with relatively young children necessitated placing reasonable limits on the instrument used while maintaining instrument validity. By limiting this investigation to five areas which theorists and researchers have repeatedly identified as vital to the political socialization process, it was assumed that the child would be able to cope with the number of responses expected and that these responses would render a significantly clear impression of his basic political disposition.

PART II - RESEARCH PROCEDURES

This study was designed to examine and compare the political orientation of Black rural and Black urban children from Northern Florida.

Hypotheses:

To determine and analyze the differences in the orientations of various groups within the research population the following hypotheses were tested:

1. No significant differences exist between rural and urban subjects in all areas investigated (political efficacy, political trust-cynicism, images of the President, the policeman and the government, and efficacy ratings of three levels of government and trust ratings of three levels of government).
2. No significant differences exist between children in the various grade levels in all areas investigated.
3. No significant differences exist between boys and girls in all areas investigated.
4. No significant differences exist between children who fall within various I.Q. levels in all areas investigated.
5. No significant differences exist between children from various socio economic strata in all areas investigated.

Data Gathering Instruments

Two instruments were used in gathering data for this study - a questionnaire and an interview schedule. Copies of these instruments are included in Appendix A.

The Questionnaire

This instrument was comprised of seven indices each of which was designed to measure one of the following:

1. political efficacy
2. political trust
3. image of the government
4. image of the President
5. image of the policeman
6. political efficacy reactions to three levels of government: local, state, Federal
7. political trust reactions to three levels of government: local, state, Federal

The first five of the above indices were selected because of their theoretical significance and their wide use in previous investigations of political socialization. By employing these indices a degree of the continuity and the cumulative nature of previous research was maintained here.

The particular efficacy index employed in this study is one based on an instrument developed by the Survey Research Center[26] and revised by Easton and Dennis for their investigation of political efficacy in children.[27] This index is designed to measure relative degrees of efficacy on a "high" to "low" continuum.

In the administration of this index children are asked to use a five point scale in agreeing or disagreeing with statements such as: "my family doesn't have any say about the government, citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government," and "I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think."

The political trust index used here is based on an instrument developed by Agger, Goldstein, and Pearl[28] and revised by several investigators for use with children.[29] It is designed to determine the respondent's degree of political trust by asking questions such as: "Do you think hardly any, not very many, or quite a few people in the government are crooked?" and "Do you think you can trust the government to do what is right some of the time, most of the time or just about always?"

Indices used in this study to determine images of the President, government, and policeman were those used in political socialization studies conducted by Easton and Dennis, Hess and Tourney and others.[30] These indices are designed to measure the child's perception of the various political objects (President, policeman, and government) in terms of a negative-to-positive continuum. Respondents are asked to rate the various political objects according to traits such as knowledge, power, benevolence, and infallability.

The indices used to determine the child's political trust and political efficacy reactions to three levels of government are extensions of the trust and efficacy scales discussed above. The ten items included in the trust and efficacy scales were reworded by this investigator to ask the respondent which of three levels of government (local, state, or federal) is most trust-worthy and which is most responsive to the people it serves.

The Interview Schedule

This instrument was designed to provide further data concerning the subjects' positive and negative orientations toward various political figures and toward the local, state and Federal governments. The particular items comprising the interview schedule included both forced choice and open ended items similar to those used in previous political socialization research.[31]

Selection of Subjects

The subjects for the study were 707 Black children in grades five through eight. This sample was comprised of 282 rural children from schools located in Alachua County, Florida, and 424 urban children from schools located in the city of Jacksonville, Florida.

To obtain the rural sample, four schools were randomly selected from among those which included at least two sections of fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth grade students, and were located in communities with population of 3,000 or less.

Full integration had been achieved throughout the Alachua County School System three years prior to this study, therefore, the rural schools selected had Black student enrollments which ranged from approximately 20 to 30 per cent.

To obtain a sample of students from each school a random selection of homeroom groups was made. This procedure was deemed feasible as no ability grouping was involved in the assignment of students to homerooms. Thus the danger of selecting children from only one ability stratum was virtually eliminated.

The urban schools were selected from those which had a Black student enrollment of at least 20 per cent, contained at least two sections or homerooms of the fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth grades, and were not newly integrated at the beginning of the school year in which this study was conducted. The newly integrated schools were eliminated for two reasons. First, because the actions taken to integrate Jacksonville's schools were only the initial steps in achieving a racial balance, the number of Black fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grade children involved therein was relatively small. Secondly, it was assumed that the racial balancing program might well affect the newly integrated children in ways that would make them unrepresentative of the majority group.

A random selection of four schools and subsequent random selection of homeroom groups from each school was made to obtain the urban subjects. Here again this method was appropriate as the assignment of students to homerooms was not based on scholastic ability.

It should be noted that the urban schools selected had student enrollments made up of only Black children. The probability of selecting schools with student populations which approached this type was great as many of the schools attended by Black children included few or no White children. Thus the difference between the percentages of Black students in the urban and rural schools must be noted as an uncontrolled variable and a limitation in this study.

The Pilot Study

Several weeks prior to the initiation of the actual study, pilot testing was conducted by a team of four Black people who were trained to administer the questionnaire and interview schedule described above. It was deemed necessary that this team be comprised of Blacks as there is evidence of Black students playing "Negro" when questioned by a White examiner.[31]

The purpose of the pilot test was to determine whether the questionnaire could be administered (explained and read aloud in its entirety) within a class period of approximately 45 minutes, and to determine if the format and items of both the questionnaire and interview schedule appeared suited to children selected for this study.

The questionnaire was administered to sixty Black children with approximately equal numbers from each of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. Interviews were conducted with twelve children - three from each grade. After the children had completed the questionnaire and the interview they were invited to comment on such things as the speed with which instructions were presented, clarity of presentation, and problems of understanding. Based on the childrens' remarks, the observations of this investigator, and those of the team administering the instruments it was concluded that only minor revisions were needed in wording and format, and that the questionnaire could be administered at a reasonable pace within a class period. Although few of the children involved in the pilot study showed signs of having difficulty reading the questionnaire it was decided that this entire instrument would be read aloud when administered to the research population.

Administration of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was administered to rural children during November, 1971, and to urban children in December of the same year and early January, 1972. The administration of all questionnaires and interviews was conducted by the team of four people who carried out the pilot study.

With assistance from the administrative staff and teachers in the various schools a testing schedule was arranged so that the questionnaire could be administered to an entire homeroom group at a time. Therefore in the case of rural schools both White and Black children were involved in the survey. To maintain relatively "normal" homeroom situations, rural homeroom groups were surveyed in tact and, of course, no mention was made of the fact that the study was concerned only with Black childrens' political dispositions. After administering the questionnaire to a rural homeroom group, the examiner simply noted which instruments had been completed by Black children and which by Whites.

Prior to the administration of the questionnaire it was emphasized with each group of children that their responses would have nothing to do with their grades, the results would not be recorded anywhere in school records, and that all the data from individual respondents would remain confidential. To maintain confidentiality a two part information sheet was included in each questionnaire. On the bottom half the child recorded his name, sex, homeroom and grade in school. With the exception of the name this information plus data from school files regarding the respondent's I.Q. and socioeconomic level were coded on the upper half of the sheet. After the coding was completed, the lower half of the sheet was removed and returned to the child's school. In this way neither the school personnel nor the investigator had any way of connecting questionnaire responses with a given child.

Administration of the Interview Schedules

A total of 78 children were interviewed in this study. They were randomly selected from each of the homeroom groups involved in the

questionnaire survey. An attempt was made to obtain approximately 10 per cent of the children from each homeroom.

The interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis by the same examiners who administered the questionnaires. An audio tape of each interview was made, then transcribed for analysis purposes.

To maintain confidentiality the child's sex, grade, and location were coded on the transcripts but his named was deleted. After the transcripts were completed the audio tapes were erased.

Assigned Variables and Their Measurement

Five variables which have been of major concern in previous political socialization research were assumed to be relevant to this study. They are: sex, intelligence (I.Q.), socio-economic level, grade in school, and geographic location (urban or rural).

For this investigation the above variables were measured or determined as follows:

Grade level. Students indicated their grade level on the information sheets included with the questionnaire. Interviewees were asked to state their grade and their responses were recorded on audio tape.

Sex. Students indicated their sex on the questionnaire information sheets. Interviewees were simply asked to state whether they were a boy or a girl and their responses were taped.

I.Q. Intelligence Quotient scores were obtained from school records. When more than one score had been recorded for a particular child, the most recent was used in this study.

The scores ranged from a high of 146 to a low of 62. For the purposes of this study the scores were divided into three categories as follows: I.Q.'s of 100 or above were placed in the "high" category, I.Q.'s of 85 through 99 were placed in the "medium" category, and the "low" category included I.Q.'s of 84 and below.

It should be noted that of the children selected for study 272 had no I.Q. score listed in their records. Thus the total for whom such scores were available was 436.

Geographic location - urban or rural. This variable was determined prior to the section of subjects for this investigation.

Rural subjects were defined as those who attended schools in towns which: (1) did not exceed a population of 3,000; and (2) were not immediately adjacent to larger cities or towns.

Urban subjects were defined as those who lived in the city of Jacksonville - an urban center of more than one half million people.

Socio-economic level. Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position was used to determine the socio-economic strata to which the subjects of this study belonged.[33] This index employs the factors of occupation and education as a basis of categorization. It is assumed by Hollingshead that occupation reflects the skill and power possessed by individuals as they perform society's maintenance functions and that education reflects both knowledge and cultural tastes. And, Hollingshead further asserts that by the integration of the two factors (occupation and education) a score may be computed which reflects the social class to which a subject belongs.

In this system the education factor is scaled into five levels ranging from less than seven years of formal schooling through graduate professional training. Occupation is scaled into eight levels ranging from unskilled pursuits to work which generally requires the use of creative talents and the management of other personnel.

Hollingshead has presented the following example of how the two factors are weighted and a score obtained.[34]

> The factors of Occupation and Education are combined by weighing the individual scores obtained from the scale positions. The weights for each factor were determined by multiple correlation techniques. The weight for each factor is:
>
> | Factor | Factor Weight |
> |---|---|
> | Occupation | 7 |
> | Education | 4 |
>
> To calculate the Index of Social Position for an individual the scale value for Occupation is multiplied by the factor weight for Occupation and the scale score for Education is multiplied by the factor weight for Education. For example, John Smith is the manager of a chain supermarket. He completed high school and one year of business college. His Index of Social Position score is computed as follows:

Factor	Scale Score	Factor Weight	Score X Weight
Occupation	3	7	21
Education	3	4	12
		Index of Social Position Score	33

Hollingshead has grouped the index scores into "nuclear families" representing five levels of social class. Such grouping assumes that there are meaningful differences between the score groups and that a meaningful correspondence exists between an estimated class position of individuals and their social behavior.[35]

Data concerning parents educational level and occupation were obtained from school files. It should be noted, however, that in many cases these data were missing from school records. Therefore, the number of subjects compared on the basis of socio economic status was reduced considerably. Out of 707 subjects selected, information regarding parents' occupations and education was available on only 402 subjects.

Because more data was available on parents' occupations than on both occupation and education, consideration was given to determining social class on the basis of occupation alone. This approach was rejected however because so few of the parents were listed as

having occupations in any but the lowest level category. There was, therefore, virtually no basis for comparing according to this variable. Over 90 per cent of the occupations were those traditionally placed in the lowest categories - laborers, domestics, truck drivers, and various other unskilled jobs. There was, however, greater variance in parents' education levels. Thus it was assumed that the Hollingshead Index which combines data on both occupation and education would be appropriate for estimating the social class of this study's subjects.

Although the Hollingshead Index indicates five socioeconomic levels, in this study it was necessary to collapse the upper three into one category due to the fact that relatively few subjects placed in the highest levels. Table 1 shows the distribution of subjects within the various socioeconomic strata:

TABLE 1

Distribution of Subjects
In Three Socioeconomic Strata

STRATA:	High	Medium	Low
Number	32	88	282

STATISTICAL PROCEDURES

Survey Data

A three way analysis of variance procedure was used to test the significance of difference between group scores on the political efficacy, political trust, and image of the President, policeman, and government indices. For each of these indices two separate analyses of variance were conducted to determine the effects and interactions of the assigned variables - grade, location, sex, I.Q., and socioeconomic strata. The first of the two was a 2x2x4 analysis involving the variables of location - urban or rural, sex - boy or girl, and grade in school - fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth. The second was a 2x3x3 analysis involving sex, I.Q. - high, medium, and low categories, and socioeconomic strata - high, medium, and low.

By conducting two separate analyses it was possible to test the effects of all five variables even though I.Q. scores and information regarding S.E.S. were not available for a number of subjects. As noted above, I.Q. scores were obtained for 435 subjects and data relative to S.E.S. were obtained for 402 subjects. However, because it was found that for some subjects an I.Q. score was available while S.E.S. information was not available and the reverse was true for other subjects, the final number of children for whom both S.E.S. and I.Q. data were available totaled 303. While this is less than half the original research population (707), it is assumed here to be an adequate sample for estimating the effects of the I.Q. and S.E.S. variables relative to the various areas of investigation.

When stratified according to the 14 sub groups (I.Q. - three levels, S.E.S. - three levels, grade - four levels, sex - two levels, and location - two levels) considerable disparity was found in the number of subjects contained therein. To achieve equal cell frequencies recommended for analysis of variance, a procedure called replicated sampling was employed.[36] In this procedure the subjects within each of the fourteen sub groups were randomly divided into four sub samples or replicated samples. Mean scores for each of these sub samples were computed and treated as an estimate of the corresponding research population value.[37]

The significance of differences in efficacy and trust reactions to the local, state, and Federal governments, was determined by application of the chi square test.

In all of the analyses, the .05 level of probability was used as the criterion for significance.

Interview Data

Responses to open ended interview items were categorized and the percentages of responses in each category were determined. Where an interview item called for a forced choice, the percentage of responses were determined for the entire interview sample, rural and urban sub samples, and boys and girls. No percentages were determined across grades because of the relatively small number of subjects involved at each level. Also, because the names of children were not used in the interviews no I.Q. or S.E.S. information was obtained for this sample, and, therefore, no percentages of responses were determined according to these variables.

PART III - FINDINGS

In this section the results of the present investigation are reported and analyzed. The discussion presented here focuses on each of the seven areas of investigation in the following order. Political Efficacy, Political Trust, Image of the Government, Image of the President, Image of the Policeman, Efficacy Ratings of the Federal, state, and local governments, and Trust ratings of the Federal, state and local governments.

As noted in the previous section two analyses of variance were conducted for each of the first five areas listed here (political trust and efficacy and the various images). For purposes of clarity, the analysis of variance involving the variables of location, grade, and sex shall be referred to throughout the remainder of this report as the total group analysis, and the analysis involving the variables of sex, I.Q., and socioeconomic strata (S.E.S.) shall be referred to as the sub group analysis.

Political Efficacy

This aspect of political orientation centers on the individual's perceptions of the responsiveness and tractability of government. The five item index of political efficacy, discussed in the previous section was the primary measure employed here. The foremat of this index can be seen in Appendix A.

The results of the total group analysis presented in Table 2, page 17, show no significant differences between the mean scores of children in rural or urban settings, between boys and girls, or between children in the various grade levels. Neither was there any significant interaction of these variables. Therefore in regard to the political efficacy levels of this study's subjects the following null hypotheses were accepted:

1. No significant differences at the .05 level exist between rural and urban children.
2. No significant differences at the .05 level exist between children in the various grade levels.
3. No significant differences at the .05 level exist between boys and girls.

The results of the subgroup analysis are shown in Table 3, page 18. As indicated by the data presented therein, no significant differences were found between the efficacy scores of subjects in the various I.Q. categories, but significant differences were found between subjects in the various socioeconomic strata.

Therefore the following hypothesis relative to political efficacy is accepted:

> No significant differences exist at the .05 level among children in the high, medium, or low I.Q. categories.

TABLE 2

Total Group Analysis of Variance Summary Table For Mean Scores on the Political Efficacy Index

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F
Location (Urban-Rural)	0.024	1.	0.024	0.323
Sex	0.043	1.	0.043	0.581
Grade	0.050	3.	0.017	0.223
Location x Sex	0.078	1.	0.078	1.042
Location x Grade	0.378	3.	0.129	1.726
Sex x Grade	0.267	3.	0.089	1.191
Location x Sex x Grade	0.171	3.	0.057	0.762
Within Groups	3.589	48.	0.075	
Total	4.609	63.		

* p .05

** p .01

TABLE 3

Sub Group Analysis of Variance Summary Table
For Mean Scores on the Political Efficacy Index

	SS	DF	MS	F
Sex	0.337	1.	0.337	1.316
S.E.S.	1.842	2.	0.921	3.593*
I.Q.	0.765	2.	0.383	1.492
Sex x S.E.S.	1.069	2.	0.535	2.086
S.E.S. x I.Q.	4.273	4.	1.068	4.167**
Sex x S.E.S. x I.Q.	3.681	4.	0.929	3.590*
Within Groups	13.843	54.	0.256	
Total	26.859	71.		

* p .05

** p .01

And, the following hypothesis relative to political efficacy is rejected:

> No significant differences at the .05 level exist between subjects in the high, medium, and low socioeconomic strata.

A graphical comparison of mean scores for subjects in the various socioeconomic strata is presented in Figure 1, page 20. This graph shows that the lowest level of efficacy was indicated by children in the low socioeconomic category, there is a somewhat higher degree of efficacy indicated by the medium socioeconomic group, and the degree of efficacy indicated by the upper socioeconomic group was decidedly higher than the efficacy levels of those in either the medium or low socioeconomic strata.

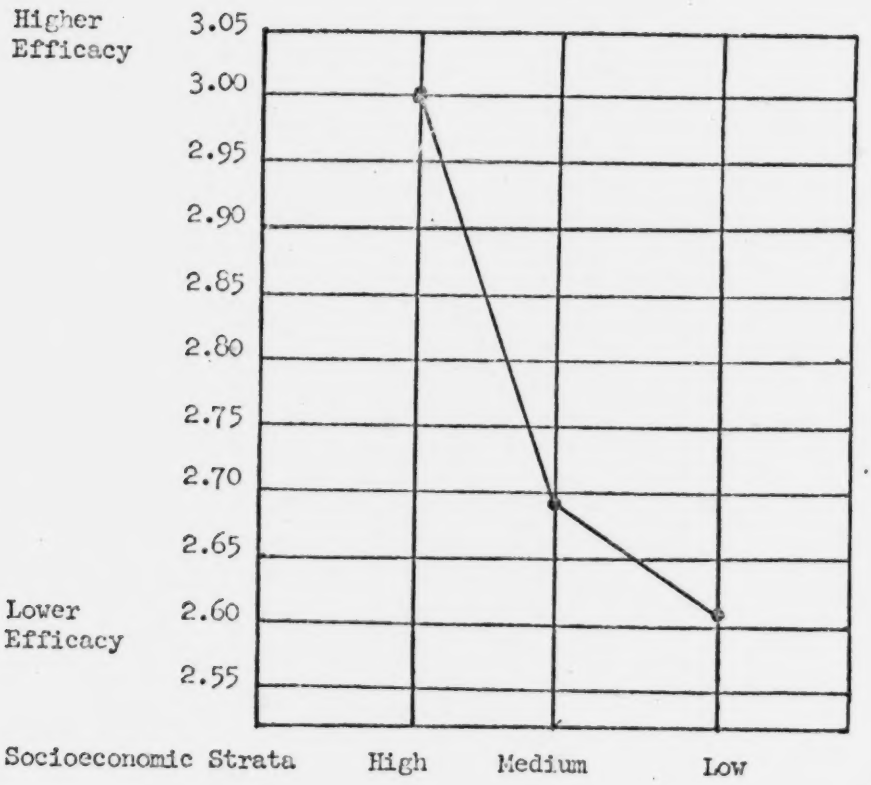
A significant interaction of I.Q. and socioeconomic strata is also shown in Table 3 and a graph of this interaction appears in Figure 2, page 21. In Figure 2 it can be seen that children in the high I.Q. group indicated much lower levels of efficacy. Children in the medium I.Q. and socioeconomic groups indicated levels of efficacy which are nearly equal, while those in the low I.Q. category indicated considerably higher levels of efficacy than children in the lower socioeconomic level.

Table C also shows a significant interaction of the sex, I.Q., and socioeconomic variables. The graph in Figure 3, page 22, illustrates this interaction. As shown therein, the levels of efficacy among girls in the high, medium and low I.Q. groups are quite similar to those of the girls in corresponding socioeconomic categories. For boys, however, the efficacy level is comparatively high in the upper socioeconomic category, it drops sharply among those in the middle socioeconomic group, and there is further sharp decline for those in the lowest socioeconomic level. An opposite trend is apparent in the relationship of boys' I.Q. levels and efficacy as boys with higher I.Q.'s indicated low levels of efficacy but this level rises as the I.Q. level decreases.

General Efficacy Orientation

The data presented thus far illustrate the effects of certain variables on efficacy levels indicated by the subjects of the present investigation but provide no basis for determining where these subjects are in terms of the degree of efficacy they indicate. The analyses presented below deals with this problem through a breakdown of the percentage of subjects within low, medium and high categories of efficacy, and by a comparison of these percentages with results of two other similar studies. Although the limitations of such comparisons are recognized it is asserted here that this approach provides information which clarifies our picture of the subjects' political efficacy orientations.

For the purposes of this analysis the efficacy continuum was devided into three categories: low, medium, and high. To obtain these categories the continuum between the highest possible mean score of 5.00 and the lowest possible mean scores of 1.00 was



Index Scale: 1=Lowest level of efficacy
2=Highest level of efficacy

FIGURE 1

POLITICAL EFFICACY

COMPARISON BY SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA

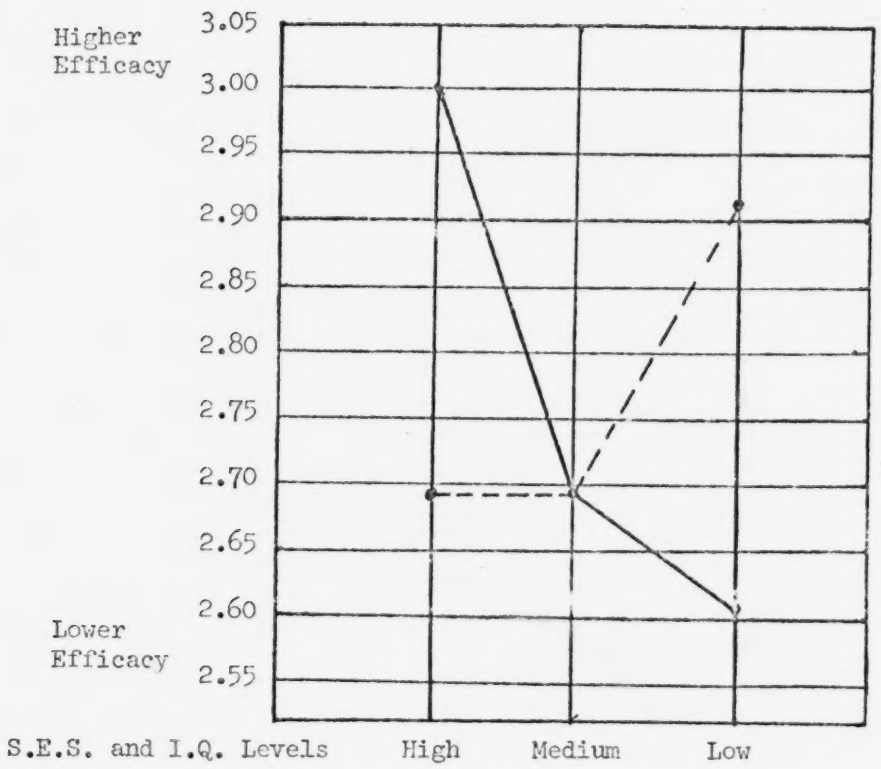
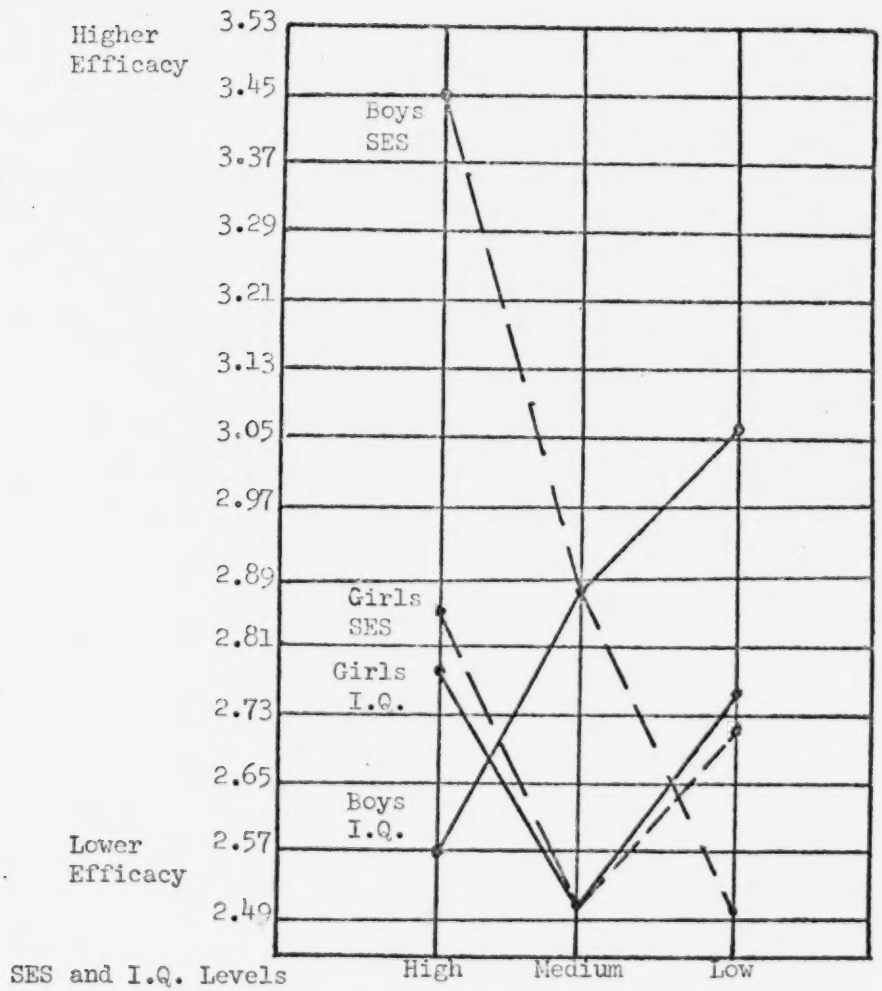


FIGURE 2

POLITICAL EFFICACY

INTERACTION OF I.Q. AND SOCIOECONOMIC LEVELS



Index Scale: 1= lowest level of efficacy
5= highest level of efficacy

FIGURE 3

POLITICAL EFFICACY

INTERACTION OF SEX, I.Q., AND SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA

divided into three equal intervals as follows: 1.00 to 2.33 - low efficacy, 2.34 to 3.66 - medium efficacy, and 3.67 to 5.00 - high efficacy. The percentages of this study's total population which fall within the various levels is presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Efficacy Levels - Total Population		
Low	Medium	High
30%	60%	10%

From Table 4 it can be seen that a relatively small percentage of subjects indicate high levels of efficacy, the majority of subjects cluster in the medium efficacy level, and approximately one-third of the population fall into the low category.

This basic pattern also holds for the subjects from both the urban and rural settings. Table 5 shows the percentages of subjects within efficacy levels according to location.

TABLE 5

Levels of Efficacy
Percentages by Location

	Low	Medium	High
Rural	28%	62%	10%
Urban	32%	58%	10%

By controlling for grade level the percentage of subjects within the various efficacy levels remains similar to the corresponding percentages for the entire research population and the urban and rural groups. Table 6 shows the percentages for subjects in the various grade levels.

TABLE 6

Levels of Efficacy
Percentages According to Grade Level

Grade	Low	Medium	High
5	29%	61%	10%
6	27	60	12
7	31	59	10
8	35	61	4

When compared with the findings of two somewhat similar studies, the subjects of this investigation indicate generally lower levels of efficacy.

One of these studies, conducted by Easton and Dennis[38] focused on a population of predominantly White middle class urban children. The results showed that 36% of the 5th graders indicated high levels

of efficacy, 35% were in the low category and the remaining 29% were in the medium category. The percentage of children in the high category increased at every grade level through grade eight. In the eighth grade 54% indicated high levels of efficacy. Conversely, the percentage of children in the low category decreased at every grade level with only 17% of the eighth grade subjects indicating low efficacy. The percentage of children in the medium category remained essentially the same throughout the grades - approximately 29%.

The findings of the present study stand in sharp contrast to those of the Easton and Dennis investigation. As shown in Table 6 only 10% to 12% of the present study's fifth through seventh grade sample indicated high levels of efficacy and this drops to 4% for eighth grade subjects. In addition, the percentage of children in the low category tends to increase among the older children while just the opposite was found in the Easton and Dennis study.

The second study to be compared here was conducted by Lyons.[39] As part of this investigation the political efficacy levels of Black children from the inner city of Toledo were determined. The results showed that among the younger children in his sample (fifth and sixth graders) 34% indicated low levels of efficacy, 41% were in the medium efficacy range and 25% were in the high category. With the older children (seventh, eighth, and ninth graders) the proportion in the low category decreased to 24% and there were increases in the medium and high categories to 46% and 30% respectively.

While the findings of the present investigation differ less from those of the Lyons study than from those reported by Easton and Dennis, important contrasts are apparent. Lyons found 25 to 30 per cent of his sample indicating high levels of efficacy while in the present study the percentages in the high category ranged from 4 to 12 per cent. Lyons also found that with the older children the percentage indicating low efficacy decreased and the percentage in the high category increased. Just the opposite was found in the present study.

Political Trust

This area of investigation is concerned with the subjects' basic trust or mistrust orientation toward politics. The criterion measure employed was a five question index which asks respondents to rate the government and political actors in terms of characteristics such as honesty, competency, and fairness. The foremat of these questions can be seen in Appendix A.

As indicated by the data in Table 7, page 25, the results of the total group analysis show no significant differences among the various groups tested. Therefore, in regard to political trust the following null hypotheses were accepted:

1. No significant differences at the .05 level exist between urban and rural subjects.

TABLE 7

Total Group Analysis of Variance Summary Table For Mean Scores on the Political Trust Index

Source of Variance	SS	DF	MS	F
Location (Rural-Urban)	0.008	1.	0.008	0.464
Sex	0.017	1.	0.017	0.938
Grade	0.139	3.	0.046	2.573
Location x Sex	0.072	1.	0.072	3.974
Location x Grade	0.020	3.	0.007	0.376
Sex x Grade	0.054	3.	0.018	1.008
Location x Sex x Grade	0.076	3.	0.025	1.403
Within Groups	0.865	48.	0.018	
Total	1.252	63.		

* p .05

** p .01

TABLE 8

Sub Group Analysis of Variance Summary Table For Mean Scores on the Political Trust Index

	SS	DF	MS	F
Sex	0.030	1.	0.030	0.346
S.E.S.	0.049	2.	0.025	0.280
I.Q.	0.939	2.	0.469	5.361**
Sex x S.E.S.	1.275	2.	0.638	7.283**
S.E.S. x I.Q.	0.376	2.	0.188	2.147
Sex x I.Q.	1.357	4.	0.339	3.874*
Sex x S.E.S. x I.Q.	0.344	4.	0.086	0.982
Within Groups	4.728	54.	0.088	
Total	9.098	71.		

* p .05

** p .01

2. No significant differences at the .05 level exist between boys and girls.
3. No significant differences at the .05 level exist between children in the fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth grades.

The results of the subgroup analyses presented in Table 8, page 26, show the existance of a significant difference in mean political trust scores only between subjects in the various I.Q. levels.

The following hypothesis relative to political trust was, therefore, rejected:

No significant differences exist between subjects in the high, medium or low I.Q. categories.

Also, the following hypothesis relative to political trust was accepted:

No significant differences at the .05 level exist between subjects in the high, medium, and low socioeconomic strata.

The data presented graphically in Figure 4, page 28, illustrate the difference in mean political trust scores according to I.Q. As shown in the graph the highest level of political trust occurs among those with the highest I.Q.'s, the level of trust drops sharply among subjects in the medium I.Q. group, and drops sharply again for those in the low I.Q. category.

Returning to Table 8, the data presented there show two statistically significant interactions, one involving sex and socioeconomic strata and one involving sex and I.Q. Figure 5, page 29, and Figure 6, page 30, show the graphs of these respective interactions.

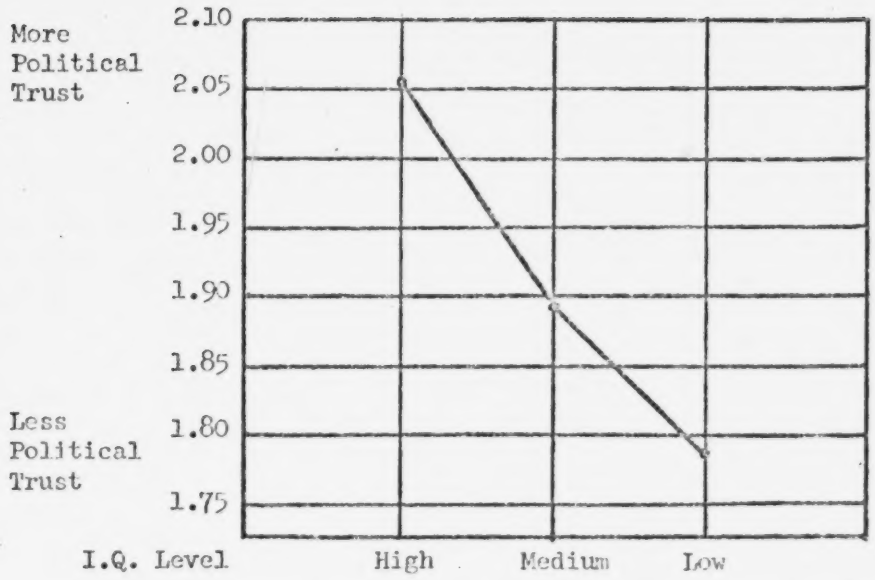
As Figure 5 illustrates, boys in the medium category indicated a relatively high level of political trust when compared to boys in both the high and low socioeconomic groups. By contrast, girls in the medium socioeconomic level indicated dramatically lower levels of trust than girls in both the upper and lower categories.

In Figure 6, it can be seen that the comparatively high level of trust indicated by boys in the high I.Q. group drops sharply for boys in the medium I.Q. group and drops even more sharply for boys in the low I.Q. category. While the political trust levels of girls in the high and medium I.Q. groups are quite similar to those for boys in the corresponding I.Q. categories, girls in the low I.Q. group showed a somewhat higher level of trust than boys in the medium I.Q. category.

General Political Trust Orientation

To obtain a picture of the degree of trust manifested by the present research population, the analysis which follows below gives a breakdown of the percentages of children within three categories of political trust - high, medium, and low and compares these percentages with the results from one other similar investigation.

The three levels of political trust were determined by dividing the continuum between the lowest possible mean score on the trust index (1.00) and the highest possible mean score (3.00) into the following equal intervals: 1.00 to 1.66 - low trust; 1.67 to 2.33 - medium trust; and 2.34 to 3.00 - high trust.



Index Scale: 1= Least political trust
3= Most political trust

FIGURE 4

POLITICAL TRUST

COMPARISON BY I.Q.

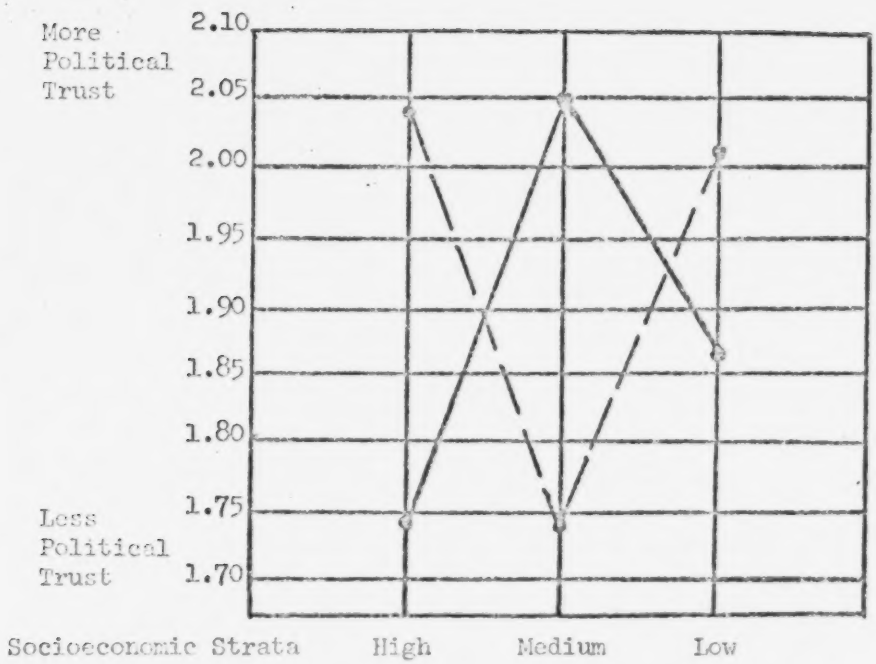


FIGURE 5

POLITICAL TRUST

INTERACTION OF SEX AND SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA

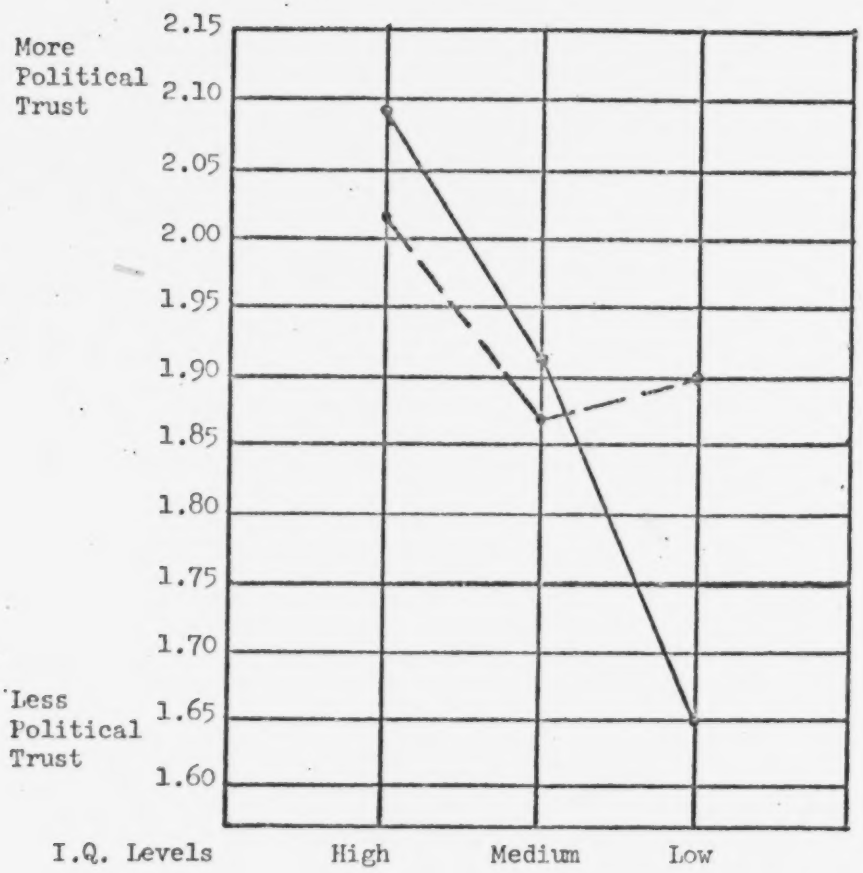


FIGURE 6

POLITICAL TRUST

INTERACTION OF SEX AND I.Q.

The percentages of this study's total population which fall into the various trust categories is presented in Table 9.

TABLE 9

Levels of Political Trust
Total Population

Low	Medium	High
26%	53%	21%

In Table 9 the data show that the majority of subjects fall within the medium trust category with the remainder of subjects nearly equally divided between the high and low categories. This breakdown is essentially the same for both rural and urban samples. Table 10 shows the percentage of subjects within trust categories according to location.

TABLE 10

Levels of Political Trust
Percentage by Location

	Low	Medium	High
Rural	24%	58%	18%
Urban	27	50	23

As Table 10 illustrates, the largest proportion of both rural and urban children are found in the medium trust category while, again, the remainder of subjects is nearly equally divided between the high and low categories.

Percentages of subjects in the various trust levels according to grade are presented in Table 11.

TABLE 11

Levels of Political Trust
Percentages by Grade

Grade	Low	Medium	High
5	19%	57%	23%
6	27	52	21
7	34	48	17
8	24	53	23

With the exception of the seventh grade sample the data presented in Table 11 show a distribution of percentages which is quite similar to that of the total population and urban and rural sub samples.

Seventh grade children differ in that a considerably larger percentage of them fall in the low category than in the high category.

The results of the present investigation appear to be generally consistent with the findings of one other study which focused on the political trust orientation of Black children from a northern urban center. This study, conducted by Lyons, found 21% of fifth and sixth grade subjects indicating low trust, 43% - medium trust, and 36% - high trust.[40]* The major differences between Lyons' findings and those of the present investigation are in the high and medium trust categories. Where Lyons reported 36% of his subjects in the high trust level and 43% were in the medium level only 22% of the present study's fifth and sixth graders indicated high trust and 55% indicated medium trust.

Lyons also reported that of his combined sample of seventh, eighth, and ninth graders, 26% indicated low trust, 47% indicated medium trust and 27% indicated high trust. The combined seventh and eighth grade sample in the present investigation show a fairly similar distribution - 26% in the low category, 51% in the medium category and 23% in the high category. Table 12 presents a comparison of the Lyons' findings and those of the present investigation (referred to in the table as the "Florida Study").

TABLE 12

Levels of Political Trust
Comparison of the Lyons and Florida Studies

	Low	Medium	High
Lyons Study 5th & 6th graders	21%	43%	36%
Florida Study 5th & 6th graders	26	55	22
Lyons Study 7th, 8th & 9th graders	26	47	27
Florida Study 7th, & 8th graders	26	51	23

*It should be noted that Lyons referred to his results as reflecting degrees of political cynicism rather than political trust. However, the present study's political trust index and the political cynicism index used by Lyons are essentially the same. For the purpose of comparison the present writer has simply interpreted low political cynicism as high political trust, medium cynicism as medium trust, and high cynicism as low trust.

The Lyons study also included a comparison of Black and White children's levels of political trust across the fifth through eighth grades. The results of this comparison showed that the Black children were much less trusting of the government than White children. Lyons also found that for both the racial groups those in high school were distinctly less trusting of the government than the younger members of their respective sub groups. However, the level of trust for the fifth and sixth grade sample of Black children was as low as that for White children in the senior high school. Because of the similarities in the trust levels found among the subjects of the present investigation and the Black children in the Lyons study, it would appear that the children surveyed in the present research are also considerably less trusting than White children. This assumes, of course, that the White children surveyed by Lyons are representative of such youngsters throughout the country. This assumption appears to be substantiated in that other researchers have also found the White middle class child to be decidedly trusting in his political outlook. Hess and Tourney, for example, found a comparatively small percentage of their respondents (modal children) indicating less than trusting attitudes toward those who run for political office.[41] Greenstein reported that in his survey of White children only "one or two" made statements suggesting politically cynical orientations.[42]

Image of the Government

This area of investigation is concerned with the child's general positive or negative orientation toward the government. The measure employed here was a seven item index which asks respondents to rate the government according to characteristics such as power, fallability-infallability, protectiveness, and knowledge. This index appears in Appendix A.

Results of the total group analysis are presented in Table 13, page 34. These results show that the only significant differences in image of the government scores occurred among subjects in the various grade levels. Thus the following null hypothesis relative to the image of the government is rejected:

> No significant differences at the .05 level exist among subjects in the fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth grades.

The following null hypotheses regarding the image of the government are accepted:

1. No significant differences at the .05 level exist between boys and girls.
2. No significant differences at the .05 level exist between urban and rural subjects.

Figure 7, page 35, graphically illustrates the difference in mean image of the government scores according to grade. From this graph it can be seen that children in fifth grade indicated the most positive image of the government, and this image became notably less positive among sixth and seventh grade subjects.

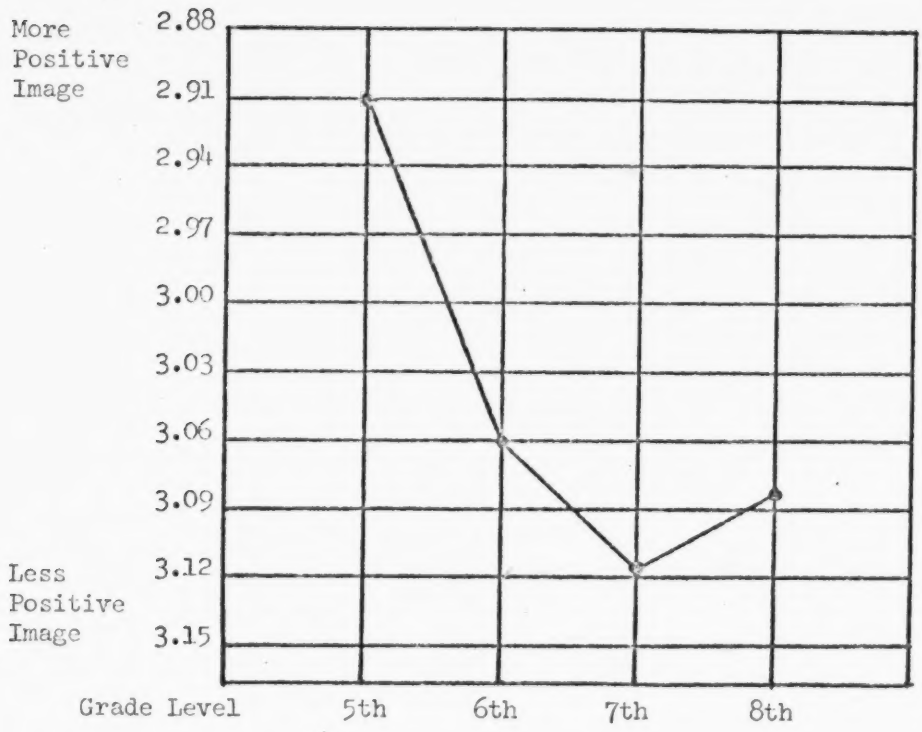
TABLE 13

Total Group Analysis of Variance Summary Table For Mean Scores On the Image of the Government Index

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F
Location (Urban or Rural)	0.033	1.	0.033	0.610
Sex	0.136	1.	0.136	2.489
Grade	0.527	3.	0.176	3.201*
Location x Sex	0.050	1.	0.050	0.904
Location x Grade	0.351	3.	0.117	2.131
Sex x Grade	0.282	3.	0.094	1.716
Location x Sex x Grade	0.209	3.	0.070	1.273
Within Groups	2.632	48.	0.055	
Total	4.220	63.		

* p .05

** p .01



Index Scale: 1= Most positive image
5= Least positive image

FIGURE 7

IMAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT

MEAN SCORES ACCORDING TO GRADE LEVEL

While the eighth grade group showed a somewhat more positive image than did the seventh grade subjects, eighth graders had a decidedly less positive image of the government than either the sixth or fifth grade groups.

Table 14, page 37, presents the data from the sub group analysis relative to the image of the government. These data show a significant difference among subjects in the various I.Q. groups and show no significant differences according to socioeconomic strata. In relation to the image of the government, therefore the following null hypothesis is rejected.

> No significant differences at the .05 level exist between subjects in the high, medium, and low I.Q. categories.

And, the following null hypothesis is accepted:

> No significant differences at the .05 level exist between subjects in the high, medium, and low socio-economic strata.

A graph illustrating the difference between mean image of the government scores according to I.Q. level is presented in Figure 8, page 38. In this graph it can be seen that subjects in the high I.Q. group indicate a comparatively high rating of the government, a somewhat lower rating is indicated by the medium I.Q. group, and this rating drops sharply for those in the low I.Q. category.

A significant interaction of I.Q. and socioeconomic strata is also indicated in Table 14. A graph of this interaction in Figure 9, page 39, shows that the highest socioeconomic group had a less positive image of the government than either the medium or low socioeconomic groups. The high I.Q. group, however, indicated a comparatively high regard for the government, while the mean score obtained by the medium I.Q. group was nearly the same as that of the medium socioeconomic group, and the mean image score for those in the low I.Q. category is dramatically lower than that of any of the other I.Q. or socioeconomic groups.

General Positive - Negative Orientation to the Government

The mean scores obtained by the various sub groups on the image of the government index indicate that the present research population does not see the government in a particularly favorable light. These scores are listed in Table 15, page 40. The most positive mean score possible was a 1.00 and the least positive score possible was a 5.00. All but four of the scores listed exceed a mean of 3.00 and, therefore, are closer to the least positive end of the continuum than to the most positive end of the continuum.

Image of the President

The concern in this area of investigation is with the subjects' positive-negative orientations toward the President. The primary measure employed here was an eleven item index which involves respondents in rating such things as the importance of the President's role, his leadership abilities, his power, and his knowledge. This index can be seen in Appendix A.

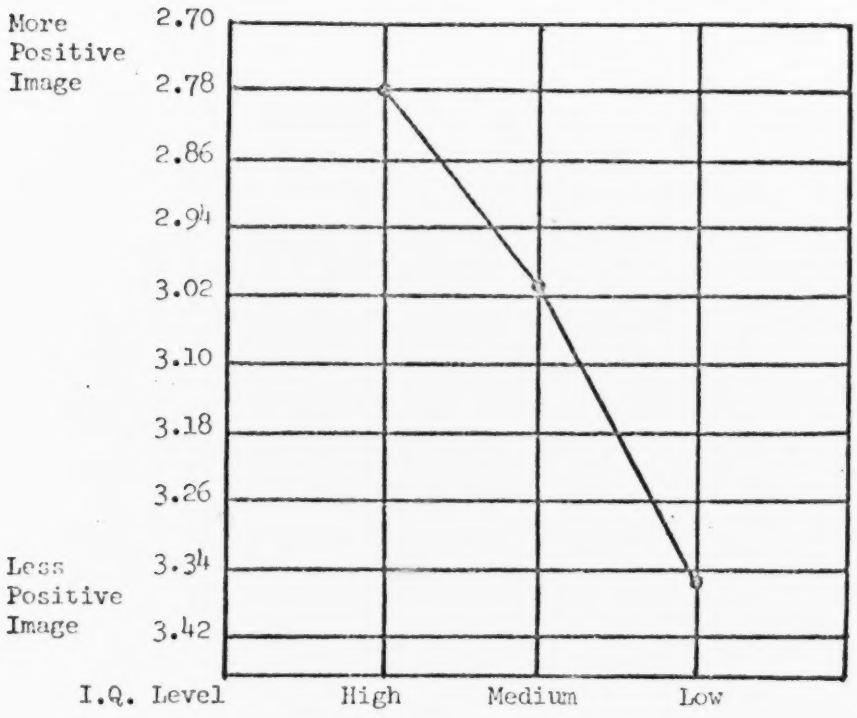
TABLE 14

Sub Group Analysis of Variance For
Mean Scores On the Image of the Government Index

	SS	DF	MS	F
Sex	0.579	1.	0.579	2.160
S.E.S.	0.251	2.	0.126	0.469
I.Q.	4.345	2.	2.173	8.101**
Sex x S.E.S.	1.230	2.	0.615	2.293
Sex x I.Q.	0.891	2.	0.445	1.661
S.E.S. x I.Q.	5.449	4.	1.362	5.079**
Sex x S.E.S. x I.Q.	0.804	4.	0.201	0.750
Within Groups	14.483	54.	0.268	
Total	28.031	71.		

* p .05

** p .01



Index Scale: 1= Most positive image
5= Least positive image

FIGURE 8

IMAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT

MEAN SCORES ACCORDING TO I.Q.

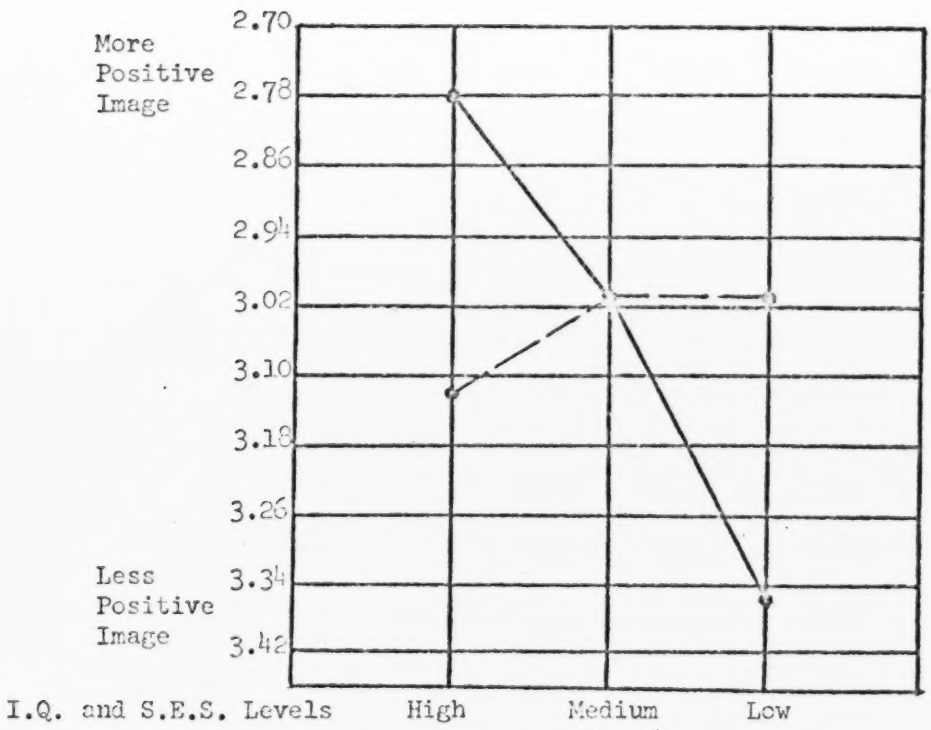


FIGURE 9

IMAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT

INTERACTION OF SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA AND I.Q.

TABLE 15

Image of the Government Mean Index Scores
By Location, Grade, Sex, I.Q., And Socioeconomic Strata

Variable	Mean
Rural	3.050
Urban	3.004
Grade 5	2.875
Grade 6	3.044
Grade 7	3.111
Grade 8	3.078
Boys	3.073
Girls	2.981
High I.Q.	2.782
Medium I.Q.	2.987
Low I.Q.	3.374
High S.E.S.	3.131
Medium S.E.S.	3.004
Low S.E.S.	3.008

Index Scale: 1.00 - Most Positive Image
5.00 - Least Positive Image

Several interview items were also employed to gain further data relative to the subjects' image of the President. The responses to these items are also discussed here.

The results of the total group analysis are presented in Table 18, page 42. The data in this table show significant differences in the mean image of the President scores of boys and girls and of subjects in the various grade levels.

The following hypotheses relative to the image of the President are, therefore, rejected:

1. No significant difference at the .05 level exists between boys and girls.
2. No significant difference at the .05 level exists between subjects in the various grade levels.

Also, the following hypothesis relative to the image of the President is accepted:

No significant difference at the .05 level exists between rural and urban subjects.

Table 17 shows a comparison of boys' and girls' mean ratings of the President.

TABLE 17

Image of the President
Mean Scores According to Sex

	Boys	Girls
Mean Score	3.12	2.99
Index Scale:	1 - Most positive image	
	5 - Least positive image	

As illustrated in the above table, girls indicated a significantly more positive rating of the President than did the boys.

Figure 10, page 43, includes a graph of the mean image of the President scores for subjects in the various grade levels. This graph shows that compared to subjects in the other grade levels, fifth grade children indicated the most positive image of the President, and that the least positive image was indicated by sixth grade subjects. Seventh graders indicated a somewhat more favorable reaction to the President than did sixth grade students, but among the eighth grade group the image again moved toward the negative end of the scale.

A significant interaction of the variables grade and sex is also shown in Table 16. This interaction is graphically illustrated in Figure 11, page 44. Although there is a considerably less favorable image of the President indicated among sixth grade girls, Figure 11 shows that through the fifth, sixth, and seventh grades both boys and girls follow a somewhat similar pattern in their reactions to the President. It is at the eighth grade level where the major difference occurs. Here the girls' reaction to the President was as favorable

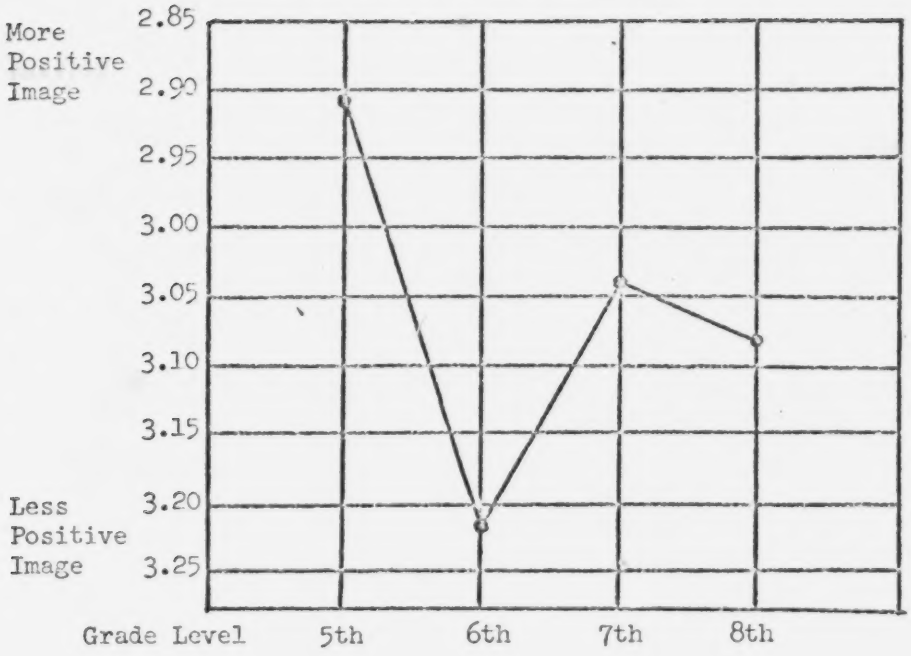
TABLE 16

Total Group Analysis of Variance Summary Table For Mean Scores on the Image of the President Index

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F
Location (Urban-Rural)	0.033	1.	0.033	0.815
Sex	0.251	1.	0.251	6.130*
Grade	0.784	3.	0.261	6.370**
Location x Sex	0.039	1.	0.039	0.946
Location x Grade	0.323	3.	0.108	2.627
Sex and Grade	0.656	3.	0.219	5.327**
Location x Sex x Grade	0.032	3.	0.011	0.258
Within Groups	1.969	48.	0.041	
Total	4.086	63.		

* p .05

** p .01



Index Scale: 1= Most positive image
5= Least positive image

FIGURE 10

IMAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

MEAN SCORES ACCORDING TO GRADE LEVEL

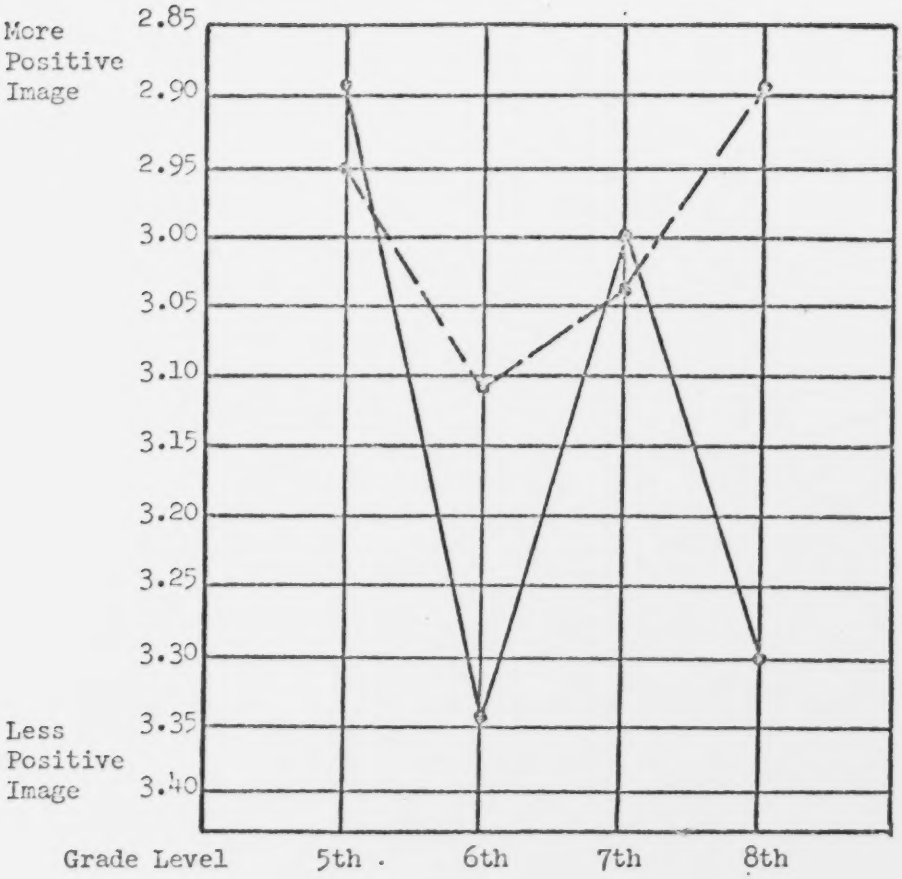


FIGURE 11

IMAGE OF THE PRESIDENT

INTERACTION OF SEX AND GRADE

as that of fifth graders while eighth grade boys' reaction was decidedly unfavorable.

The sub group analysis of mean image of the President scores is presented in Table 18, page 46. As indicated in this table, there were no significant differences according to socioeconomic strata. Neither were there any significant interactions of the variables included in this analysis.* The following two null hypotheses relative to the image of the President are, therefore, accepted:

1. No significant differences at the .05 level exist between subjects in the high, medium, and low socioeconomic strata.
2. No significant differences at the .05 level exist between subjects in the high, medium, and low I.Q. categories.

To gain further data relative to the research populations' image of the President several interview items were employed (see: Interview Schedule - Appendix A). The first of these was the following question: In general, what kind of job do you think the President is doing? The responses to this question were placed into the following categories:

1. Generally positive reactions - good, fairly good, o.k., etc.
2. Generally negative reactions - not so good, bad, he could do better, etc.
3. Middle Reactions - so so, some good, some not good, etc.
4. Don't know

Table 19 presents the percentage of responses within the various response categories. As shown in this table, the largest percentage of subjects responded with favorable ratings of the President's role performance.

TABLE 19

In general what kind of job do you think the President is doing? Per Cent of Responses Within Various Categories - Total Interview Sample

Generally Positive	Middle Reactions	Generally Negative	Don't Know
44%	4%	18%	34%

The pattern of response indicated by the total interview sample was generally maintained among both boy and girl subjects. Table 20 shows the percentage of responses according to sex.

*The reader will note that a significant difference at the .01 level is indicated between boys and girls, while in the total group analysis the difference was at the .05 level. This disparity can be attributed to the difference in the number of subjects in each analysis - 707 for the total group and 303 for the sub group. The findings obtained from the larger sample (total group) are accepted here as the better estimate of sex differences relative to the President's image.

TABLE 18

Sub Group Analysis of Variance Summary Table For Mean Scores on the Image of the President Index

	SS	DF	MS	F
Sex	1.941	1.	1.941	8.281**
S.E.S.	1.110	2.	0.555	2.367
I.Q.	1.061	2.	0.531	2.263
Sex x S.E.S.	1.217	2.	0.608	2.595
Sex x I.Q.	0.044	2.	0.022	0.094
S.E.S. x I.Q.	2.007	4.	0.502	2.141
Sex x S.E.S. x I.Q.	0.600	4.	0.150	0.640
Within Groups	12.658	54.	0.234	
Total	20.636	71.		

* p .05

** p .01

TABLE 20

In general, what kind of job do you think the President is doing? Per Cent of Responses According to Sex

	Generally Positive	Middle Reaction	Generally Negative	Don't Know
Boys	45%	5%	18%	33%
Girls	42	3	18	37

As can be seen in Table 20 both sexes were essentially the same in their ratings of the President's role performance. And, these ratings were quite similar to those offered by the entire interview sample.

In comparing rural and urban groups some sharp differences are apparent. Table 21 shows the percentage of responses in the various categories according to location.

TABLE 21

In general what kind of a job do you think the President is doing? Per Cent of Rural and Urban Subjects Within Response Categories

Location	Generally Positive	Middle Reactions	Generally Negative	Don't Know
Urban	30%	5%	33%	33%
Rural	61	3	3	33

From the data in Table 21 it can be observed that a considerably larger percentage of rural children gave the President a positive rating than did urban children, and the percentage of rural subjects responding in the negative was substantially smaller than the percentage of urban subjects responding negatively.

Another interview question used to gain information regarding subjects' reaction to the President was the following: Can you name something the President is doing that you think is very good. (If yes - what?)

In response to this question of the 78 subjects interviewed 35 of them (45%) said they could name nothing good that the President was doing. Of the remaining 44 subjects 11, or 14% of the total sample, mentioned ending the Viet Nam war as a good thing the President was doing; 17, or 22% of the total, indicated that the President was helping take care of the people in this country (he's helping us, taking care of us, working for us); two respondents (3%) named taking care of needy people overseas, and the remainder (16%) indicated a broad range of miscellaneous things which included references to the President's speaking ability, fighting pollution, and trying to keep taxes down.

The percentages of subjects who did and did not name something "good" about the President's performance is shown in Table 16.

TABLE 22

Can you name something the President is doing that you think is very good? Percentage of Respondents Naming and Not Naming Something "Good" - Total Interview Sample

Named	Did Not Name
55%	45%

The percentage breakdown for boys and girls is the same as that for the total interview sample. The percentage of responses according to sex are presented in Table 23.

TABLE 23

Can you name something the President is doing that you think is very good? Percentage of Boys and Girls Naming and Not Naming Something "Good"

	Named	Not Named
Boys	55%	45%
Girls	55	45

As can be seen in Table 23 the percentage of boys whose responses fell in the "Named" and "Not Named" categories were equal to the corresponding percentages for the girls.

In contrast to boys and girls, urban and rural subjects differed considerably in the percentage of respondents who did and did not name something good about the way the President performs his duties. As shown in Table 24 a much larger proportion of rural subjects than urban subjects identified what they believed to be a positive act the President was carrying out.

TABLE 24

Can you name something the President is doing that you think is very good? Percentage of Rural and Urban Subjects Naming and Not Naming Something the President Is Doing Well

	Named	Did Not Name
Rural	70%	30%
Urban	44	56

Interview subjects were also asked if they could name something they believed the President was not doing well. If they answered in the affirmative they were asked to state their criticism. In response to this question twenty-two subjects (28%) offered a criticism and the remaining fifty-six (72%) stated they could not do so.

The criticisms stated fell into four general areas plus a miscellaneous category. The most frequently mentioned area of disapproval had to do with the President's failure to end the Viet Nam War. Seven of the children (9% of the total sample interviewed) noted

criticisms in this area. It is interesting to recall that in response to the previous item 14% of the children mentioned the President's attempts to end the war as that which he was doing well.

Three of the children (4%) criticized the President for misuse or poor use of tax monies, another three (4%) viewed him as generally dishonest, and two (3%) saw him as disliking or mistreating Black people. The criticisms of the remaining seven children (9%) were placed in the miscellaneous category. This category included comments such as; he takes too much time on T.V., a lot of things, and he doesn't help the needy.

A comparison of the percentages of boys and girls who did and did not state a criticism of the President is shown in Table 25.

TABLE 25

Can you name something you think the President is Not doing well? Percentages of Boy and Girl Respondents Stating and Not Stating Criticisms

	Stated Criticism	No criticism
Boys	28%	72%
Girls	26	74

From the data in Table 25 it can be seen that only slight differences were found to exist between the percentages of boys and girls in regard to criticisms of the President.

Table 26 shows a comparison of the percentage of rural and urban subjects offering criticisms of the President.

TABLE 26

Can you name something you think the President is Not doing well? Percentage of Rural and Urban Subjects Stating and Not Stating Criticisms

	Stated Criticism	No Criticism
Rural	8%	92%
Urban	21	79

When contrasting the percentages of rural and urban subjects within the categories shown in Table 26 a considerable difference is apparent. The percentage of urban subjects who voiced criticisms is distinctly larger than that percentage for rural subjects.

The following interview question was also used to obtain further data relative to the subjects' perceptions of the President: If you wrote a letter to the President about something you believed to be important would he care about what you had to say?

In response to this question fifty-two children (67%) indicated that the President would care, twenty-one (27%) said he would not care, and five (6%) stated that they did not know whether he would care or not.

This general distribution of responses also held for both boys and girls. Table 27 shows the percentages of boys and girls within the various response categories.

TABLE 27

If you wrote a letter to the President about something you believed to be important would he care about what you had to say? Percentage of Boys and Girls Within Response Categories

	Would Care	Would Not Care	Don't Know
Boys	65%	28%	7%
Girls	69	26	5

Table 28 shows the breakdown of responses for rural and urban subjects. As can be seen in Table 28 a great majority of the both urban and rural subjects stated that the President would care about matters they believed to be important.

TABLE 28

If you wrote a letter to the President about something you believed to be important would he care about what you had to say? Percentage of Responses According to Location (Urban-Rural)

	Would Care	Would Not Care	Don't Know
Urban	61%	32%	7%
Rural	73	22	5

Some noteworthy differences between subjects' responses on the image of the President index and responses to interview questions are apparent.

One difference occurred in the urban and rural comparisons. There was no statistically significant difference between urban and rural subjects on the image of the President index scores. However there were sizable percentage differences in the urban and rural childrens' interview questions regarding the President.

To each of these three questions, a greater percentage of the urban children's responses than the rural children's responses were indicative of a negative reaction to the President.

Another difference was in relation to rural subjects general evaluative orientation toward the President. The majority of rural subjects' responses were those reflecting a positive reaction to the President index which suggested a negative reaction. Responses on the index had a numerical value of one to five with one indicating the most positive orientation toward the President. The mean image score for rural subjects was 3.08.

The last difference in regard to the results of the interview and of the image of the President index involved the reactions of girls and boys. There was a significant difference between the mean

image of the President scores of boys and girls, but in regard to interview items only very slight percentage differences according to sex were determined.

The differences noted here might be attributed to at least two factors. First, because the size of the interview sample was small in comparison to the number responding to the image of the President index (78 to 707) it is quite possible that by chance the children selected for interview were not truly representative of the total research sample.

Furthermore, only four interview items were employed where eleven items were included in the image of the President index. Because of this, the interview questions tapped a much narrower range of reaction to the President and this may well account for the differences which appeared.

General Positive - Negative Orientation to the President

Mean scores obtained by the various sub groups on the image of the President index appear to reflect a generally negative orientation toward this political figure. These scores are listed in Table 29, page 52. As the most positive image score possible was a 1.00 and the least positive a 5.00, it can be seen from Table 29 that a majority of the means tended toward the least positive end of the continuum. These findings are not totally consistent with results of the interviews but because the mean image scores were obtained from a much larger sample than were responses to the interview and because the image index called for a considerably broader range of ratings than did the interview items, the mean image scores are accepted here as the best indicator of overall reaction to the President.

Image of the Policeman

This area of investigation focuses on the subjects' general positive-negative orientation to the policeman. The measure employed here was an eleven item index which involved respondents in rating the policeman according to the same criteria used to determine the image of the President. These ratings were carried out in reference to such things as the importance of the policeman's role, his knowledge, power, and leadership. The format of this index can be seen in Appendix A.

Results of the total group analysis, shown in Table 30, page 53, indicate significant differences between rural and urban subjects, boys and girls, and subjects in the various grade levels. Thus the following null hypotheses relative to the image of the policeman are rejected:

1. No significant differences at the .05 level exist between rural and urban subjects.
2. No significant differences at the .05 level exist between boys and girls.

TABLE 29

Image of the President
Mean Index Scores By Location, Grade, Sex, I.Q.
And Socio Economic Strata

Variable	Mean
Rural	3.080
Urban	3.034
Grade 5	2.912
Grade 6	3.216
Grade 7	3.015
Grade 8	3.084
Boys	3.119
Girls	2.994
High I.Q.	2.845
Medium I.Q.	3.043
Low I.Q.	3.136
High S.E.S.	2.841
Medium S.E.S.	3.138
Low S.E.S.	3.046

Index Scale: 1 = Most positive image
5 = Least positive image

TABLE 30

Total Group Analysis of Variance Summary Table For Mean Scores on the Image of the Policeman Index

	SS	DF	MS	F
Location (Urban-Rural)	0.228	1.	0.228	4.667*
Sex	0.774	1.	0.774	15.868**
Grade	1.107	3.	0.369	7.560**
Location x Sex	0.001	1.	0.001	0.025
Location x Grade	0.137	3.	0.046	0.937
Sex x Grade	0.117	3.	0.039	0.802
Location x Sex x Grade	0.076	3.	0.025	0.519
Within Groups	2.343	48.	0.049	
Total	4.783	63.		

* p .05

** p .01

3. No significant differences at the .05 level exist between subjects in the fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth grades.

The source of the difference between urban and rural subjects can be seen in Table 31. As shown therein the mean score for the urban sample is significantly higher (more positive) than the mean score for rural subjects.

TABLE 31

Image of the Policeman
Mean Scores According to Location

	Rural Subjects	Urban Subjects
Mean Score	2.89	2.77
Index Scale:	1 - Most Positive Image	
	2 - Least Positive Image	

The differences in boys' and girls' image of the policeman is shown in Table 32. For girls, this image is significantly more positive than it is for boys.

TABLE 32

Image of the Policeman
Mean Scores According to Sex

	Boys	Girls
Mean Score	2.94	2.72
Index Scale:	1 - Most Positive Image	
	5 - Least Positive Image	

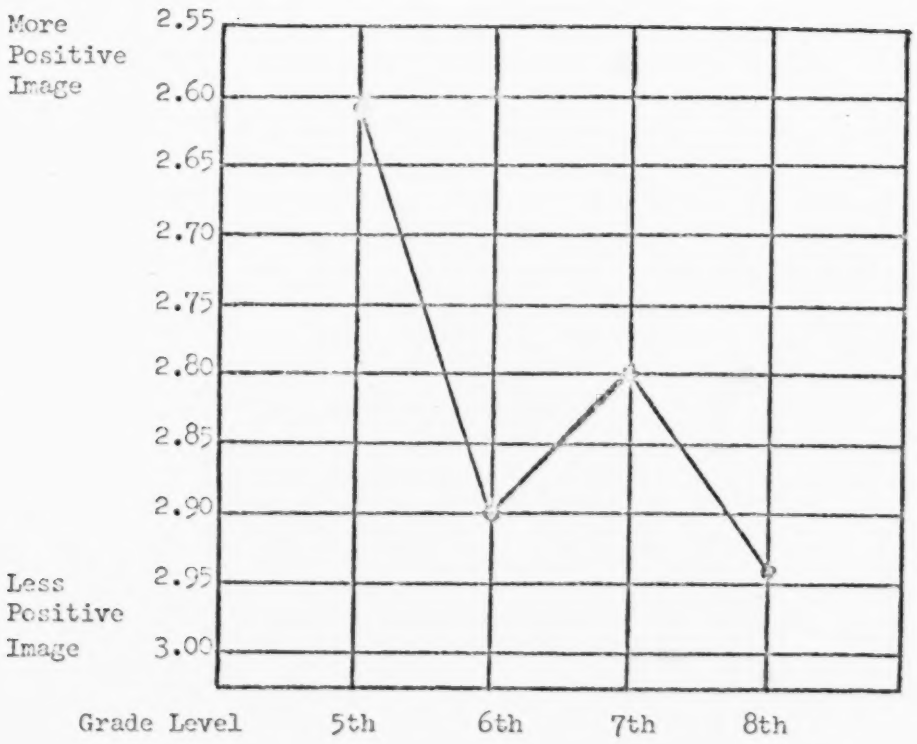
Grade differences in the image of the policeman are graphed in Figure 12, page 55. From this graph it can be seen that the image of the policeman declines sharply from fifth to sixth grade, the image for seventh graders is somewhat more positive than for sixth grade subjects, and the least positive image occurs among the eighth grade sample.

Significant differences were also found between subjects in the various I.Q. categories but no such difference was found between subjects in the three socioeconomic strata. Table 33, page 56, shows the results of the sub group analysis which included the I.Q. and socioeconomic variables. These results indicate the rejection of the following null hypothesis relative to the image of the policeman:

No significant differences at the .05 level exist between children in the high, medium, and low I.Q. categories.

And, the following null hypothesis relative to the policeman's image is accepted:

No significant differences exist at the .05 level between children in the high, medium, and low socioeconomic strata.



Index Scale: 1= Most positive image
5= Least positive image

FIGURE 12

IMAGE OF THE POLICEMAN

MEAN SCORES ACCORDING TO GRADE LEVEL

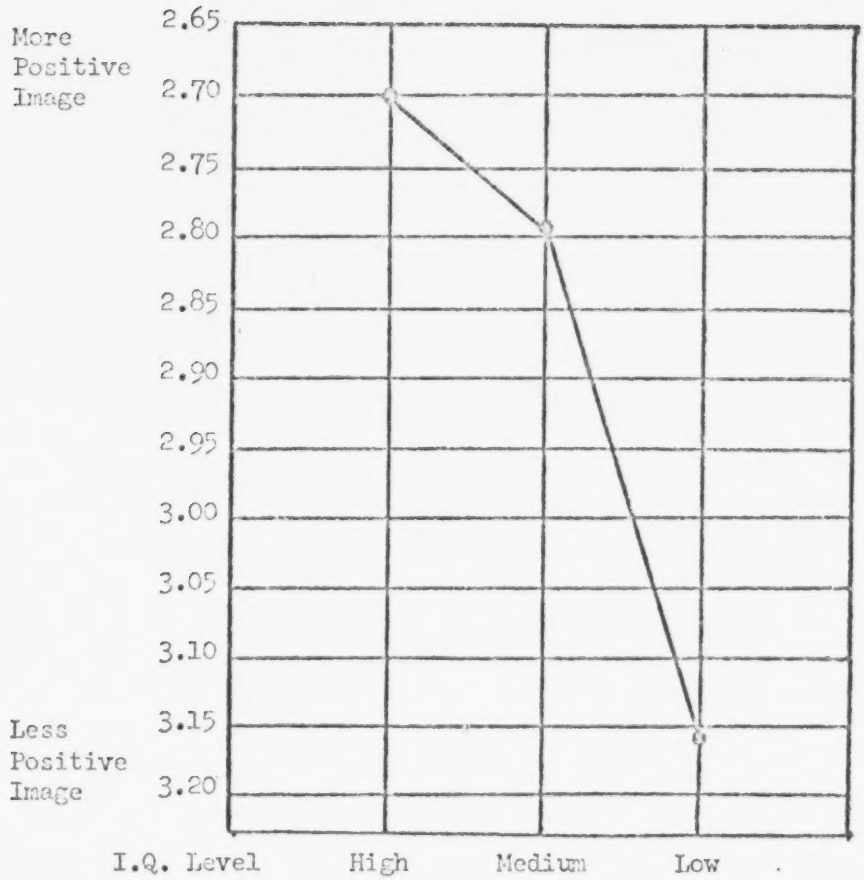
TABLE 33

Sub Group Analysis of Variance Summary Table For Mean Scores on the Image of the Policeman Index

Source of Variation	SS	DF	MS	F
Sex	3.832	1.	3.832	21.571**
S.E.S.	0.183	2.	0.092	0.515
I.Q.	2.941	2.	1.471	8.279**
Sex x S.E.S.	1.672	2.	0.836	4.705*
Sex x I.Q.	1.216	2.	0.608	3.423*
S.E.S. x I.Q.	4.439	4.	1.110	6.247**
Sex x S.E.S. x I.Q.	3.609	4.	0.902	5.079**
Within Groups	9.592	54.	0.178	
Total	27.483	71.		

* p .05

** p .01



Index Scale: 1= Most positive image
5= Least positive image

FIGURE 13

IMAGE OF THE POLICEMAN

MEAN SCORES ACCORDING TO I.Q.

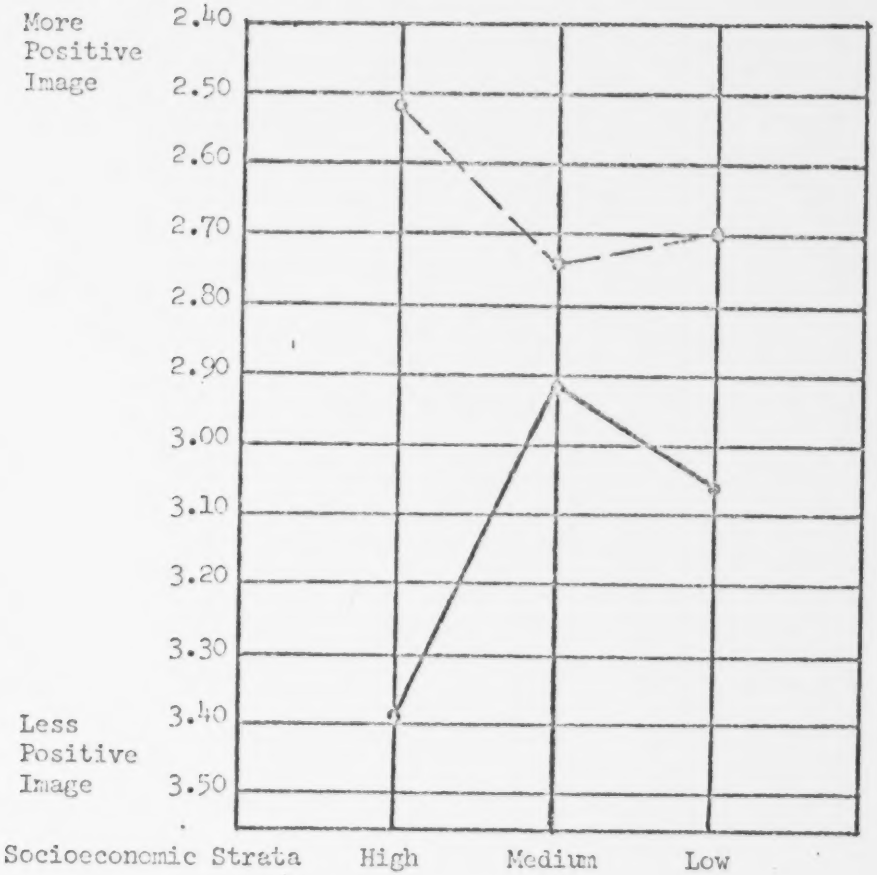


FIGURE 14

IMAGE OF THE POLICEMAN

INTERACTION OF SEX AND SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA

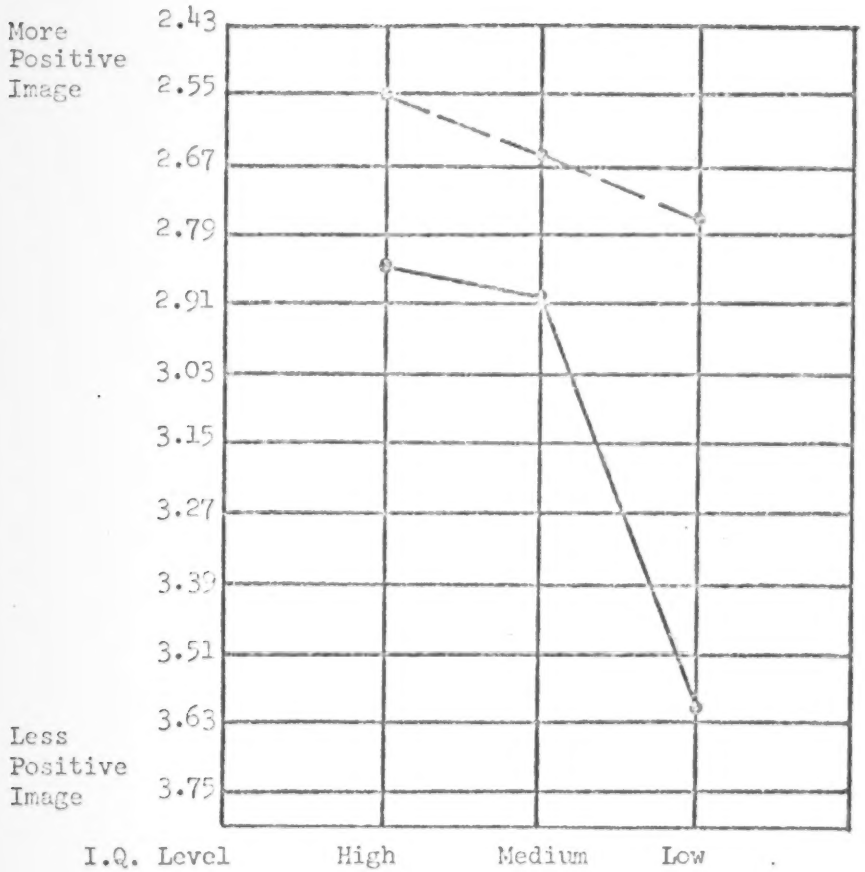


FIGURE 15

IMAGE OF THE POLICEMAN

INTERACTION OF SEX AND I.Q.

A graph showing the difference in mean scores for the various I.Q. groups is presented in Figure 13, page 57. As shown therein the image of the policeman is the most positive for children in the high I.Q. category, somewhat less positive for those in the medium I.Q. group, but this image moves sharply toward the negative end of the continuum for children in the low I.Q. group.

Four significant interactions were also determined in the present sub group analysis. These included:

1. Sex x Socioeconomic Strata
2. Sex x I.Q.
3. Socioeconomic Strata x I.Q.
4. Sex x Socioeconomic Strata x I.Q.

A graph of the interaction of sex and socioeconomic strata appears in Figure 14, page 58. From this figure it can be seen that the effect of socioeconomic strata for boys is essentially the reverse of that for girls. While boys in the high socioeconomic strata category appear decidedly negative in their image of the policeman, girls are quite positive in this regard. In the medium socioeconomic category the image for girls diminishes some while boys in this economic group move sharply toward the positive view of the policeman. Being in the low socioeconomic status appears to affect the policeman's image negatively for boys but positively for girls.

The interaction of sex and I.Q., presented in Figure 15, page 59, shows a gradual decline in girls' image of the policeman from the high to the low I.Q. categories. And, although the boys showed a similar decline from the high to medium I.Q. groups, boys in the low category were dramatically less positive in their view of the policeman than boys in the upper two I.Q. groups.

The third interaction, that of I.Q. and socioeconomic strata, is graphed in Figure 16, page 61. As shown there, the image of the policeman declines sharply across the high to low I.Q. dimensions. For socioeconomic level, however, the medium and low groups indicated a considerably more positive image of the policeman than children in the high socioeconomic strata.

The fourth significant interaction involved all three of the variables included in the sub group analysis - sex, I.Q., and socioeconomic strata. Figure 17, page 62, illustrates this interaction in graphical form. Perhaps the most outstanding result shown in the graph is that for girls the image of the policeman became generally less positive across the high to low I.Q. and socioeconomic categories, while there were nearly opposing effects of I.Q. and socioeconomic strata on the boys' image of the policeman. For boys, the image was considerably more positive among those in the medium and low socioeconomic strata than for those in the high socioeconomic group. The policeman's image indicated by boys in the various I.Q. levels, however, became less positive across the high to low categories.

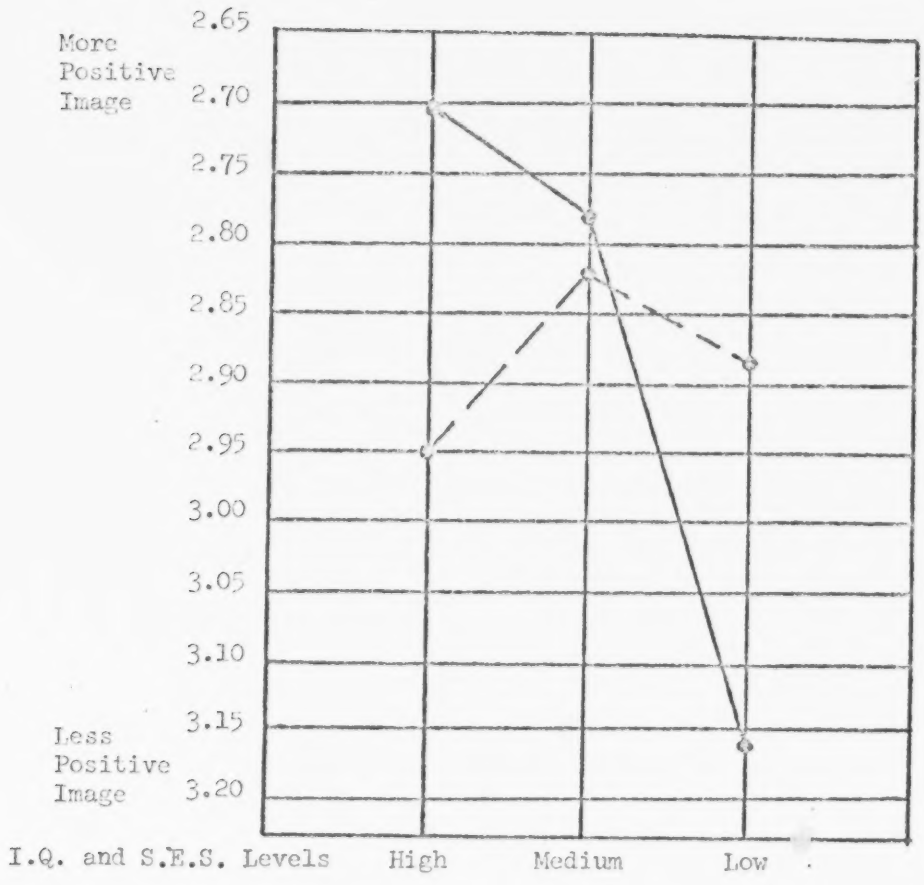
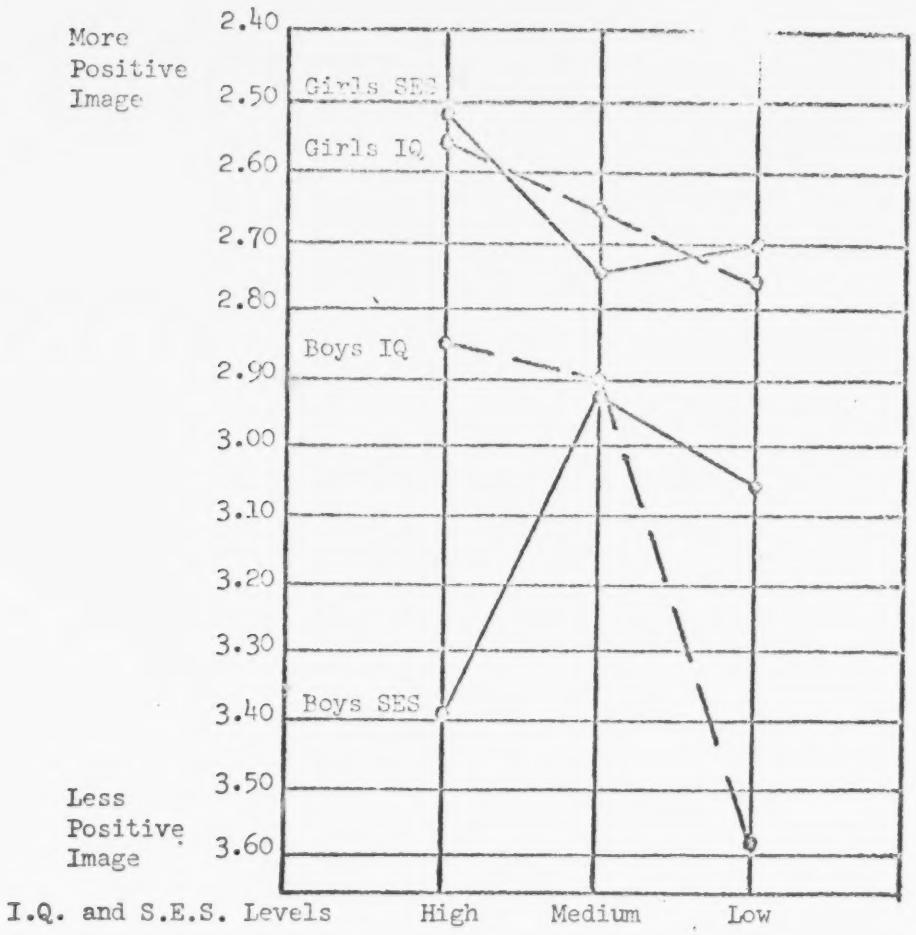


FIGURE 16

IMAGE OF THE POLICEMAN

INTERACTION OF I.Q. AND SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA



Index Scale: 1= Most positive image
5= Least positive image

FIGURE 17

IMAGE OF THE POLICEMAN

INTERACTION OF SEX I.Q. AND SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA

General Positive - Negative Orientation to the Policeman

The findings of this investigation indicate that the present research population is generally positive in their view of the policeman. All but one mean score obtained by the various sub groups on the image of the policeman index were closer to the most positive rather than least positive end of the continuum. From Table 34, page 64, it can be seen that the only mean closer to the score of 5.00 (the least positive score possible) was obtained by children in the low I.Q. group.

Not only is the policeman an apparently positive figure in the political world of the present research population but he appears to be an especially significant political object when considering the subjects' reactions to the government and the President. Only four sub groups had mean scores on the image of the President index which reflected positive orientations and the same number of sub groups had similar mean scores on the image of the government index.

TABLE 34

Image of the Policeman Mean Index Scores
By Location, Grade, Sex, I.Q., and Socioeconomic Strata

Variable	Mean
Rural	2.887
Urban	2.768
Grade 5	2.609
Grade 6	2.924
Grade 7	2.842
Grade 8	2.936
Boys	2.938
Girls	2.718
High I.Q.	2.702
Medium I.Q.	2.779
Low I.Q.	3.164
High S.E.S.	2.949
Medium S.E.S.	2.827
Low S.E.S.	2.869

Index Scale: 1 - Most Positive Image
5 - Least Positive Image

Efficacy Reactions to the Federal, State, and Local Governments

The primary task in this area of investigation was to determine whether subjects perceived the local, state, or Federal government as that agency which best sustains and fosters the citizen's efforts to be politically efficacous.

The measure used here is an extension of the political efficacy index employed previously in this study. This index was reworded so that the subject was asked to indicate whether the Federal, state (Florida), or local government (Jacksonville or Alachua County): (1) cares most about what his family thinks, (2) is most likely to give citizens a chance to be heard, (3) would be most likely to provide help for his family, (4) is the easiest to change, and (5) does the most for his family. The foremat of these questions can be seen in Appendix A.

To determine which level of government was most highly regarded the percentage of times each of the governments was chosen over the other two was computed. To determine whether the various sub groups differed significantly in their choice of governments, the chi square test was applied.

Several interview items were also used to gain information concerning the subject's efficacy reactions to the various levels of government. The responses to these items are also discussed here.

The percentage of times each level of government was chosen as "best" by the entire research population is shown in Table 35.

TABLE 35

Total Group Efficacy Reactions to Three Levels of Government
Percentage of Times Each Level Was Chosen Over the Other Two

Governmental Level	Federal	State	Local
	31%	27%	42%

From these percentages it can be seen that for the entire sample local government is most highly rated in terms of efficacy while there are decidedly lower and only slightly different ratings between the Federal and state governments.

This apparent high regard for the local government is also found in both the urban and rural groups, but is considerably stronger among urban subjects. Table 36 illustrates this difference.

TABLE 36

Efficacy Reactions to Three Levels of Government
Percentage of Choices For Urban and Rural Samples

Governmental Level	Federal	State	Local
Urban	29%	26%	46%
Rural	34	29	37

By application of the chi square test it was found that the rural-urban differences are significant at the .01 level. Thus in regard to efficacy reactions to government at the Federal, state, and local levels the following null hypothesis is rejected:

> No significant difference at the .01 level exists between urban and rural subjects.

A comparison of boys' and girls' efficacy reactions to the various governments also shows that the local agency was most frequently chosen as better than the state and Federal governments. The percentage of choices according to sex is presented in Table 37.

TABLE 37

Efficacy Reactions to Three Levels of Government
Percentage of Choices According to Sex

Governmental Level	Federal	State	Local
Boys	29%	28%	42%
Girls	32%	26%	42%

As shown in Table 37 the differences in the choices of boys and girls is slight and these differences were not found to be significant when submitted to the chi square test. The following null hypothesis relative to efficacy reactions to three levels of government is, therefore, accepted:

> No significant differences exist at the .05 level between girls and boys.

Differences across grade levels were also found to be minor, and, again, within each grade level the local government was most highly rated. The percentage of choices according to grade level are presented in Table 38.

TABLE 38

Efficacy Reactions to Three Levels of Government
Percentage of Choices According to Grade Level

	Federal	State	Local
8th grade	31%	25%	44%
7th grade	31	27	42
6th grade	33	29	38
5th grade	30	26	44

When tested by chi square no significant difference across grade levels was determined. Thus in regard to efficacy reactions to the three levels of government the following hypothesis is accepted:

> No significant differences at the .05 level exist between subjects in the fifth through eighth grade levels.

For subjects within the various I.Q. categories there proved to be a considerable difference in efficacy reactions to the three governments. The percentage of choices by the high, medium, and low I.Q. groups appears in Table 39.

TABLE 39

Efficacy Reaction to Three Levels of Government
Percentage of Choice According to I.Q. Level

I.Q. Level	Federal	State	Local
High	28%	26%	45%
Medium	32	26	43
Low	37	27	37

The data in Table 39 show that the percentage of times children chose the local government increased considerably from the low to high I.Q. groups, just the reverse was true in regard to the Federal Government, and the percentage of times the state government was chosen was virtually equal among those in the three I.Q. levels. Also, with the exception of children in the low I.Q. category, local government again was most highly regarded in terms of efficacy rating. When tested by chi square the differences indicated by the subjects in the various I.Q. groups proved to be significant at the .05 level. Thus the following hypothesis concerning efficacy reactions to the three levels of government is rejected:

> No significant difference at the .05 level exists between subjects in the high, medium, or low I.Q. categories.

Efficacy reactions by the subjects in the three socioeconomic strata also favored the local level of government, but some sharp differences were apparent. The percentage of times each level of government was chosen by the various socioeconomic groups is presented in Table 40.

TABLE 40

Efficacy Reactions to Three Levels of Government
Percentage of Choices According to Socioeconomic Strata

S.E.S. Levels	Federal	State	Local
High	17%	29%	54%
Medium	26	26	48
Low	33	27	40

From a review of the data in Table 40 it can be seen that the children in the high socioeconomic category see local government in a much more favorable light than either the Federal or state agencies. It is also interesting to note that the proportion of times subjects from the high socioeconomic group chose the Federal government over the other two was extremely low. Of all the sub groups - grade level, I.Q., rural, urban, boys, girls, and socioeconomic strata - only those in the high socioeconomic category chose the Federal government a smaller percentage of times than the state government.

The differences between the various socioeconomic sub groups, when tested by chi square proved to be significant at the .01 level.

This finding indicates the rejection of the following hypothesis concerning efficacy reactions to the various governments:

> No significant differences exist at the .05 level between subjects within the high, medium, and low socioeconomic strata.

Three interview items also provided some information regarding efficacy reactions to the various levels of government. In this case the reactions were to government officials at the Federal, state and local levels, namely: the President, the governor, and the county commissioners or mayor. The questions employed were stated as follows:

*1. If you wrote to the President about something you believed to be important would he care about what you had to say?

2. If you wrote to the Governor of Florida about something you believed to be important would he care about what you had to say?

**3. If you wrote to the Mayor of Jacksonville/your Alachua County Commissioner about something you believed to be important would he care about what you had to say?

In regard to these items it was assumed that a "yes" answer indicates a belief in the responsiveness of the governmental official in question. The percentage of "yes," "no," and "don't know" responses for the entire interview sample are presented in Table 41.

TABLE 41

If You Wrote To The President/Governor/County Commissioner or Mayor About Something You Believed to Be Important Would He Care About What You Had to Say? Percentage of Responses for Entire Interview Sample

	Would Care	Would Not Care	Don't Know
President	67%	27%	6%
Governor	58	13	23
Local Official (Commissioner or Mayor)	54	10	36

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the data in Table 41 is the large percentage of those who were undecided as to whether the state and local officials would or would not care. While only a small percentage of respondents did not know whether the President would care about their concerns, the percentage who did not know whether the governor cared increased sharply and became even greater in reference to the local official.

*The reader will note that this interview item was also considered in the discussion of the image of the President.

**Rural children were asked about their (Alachua) county commissioner, and urban children were asked about the Jacksonville mayor.

When controlling for location - urban and rural - the pattern of responses established by the entire interview sample is generally maintained. A comparison of these percentages according to location are presented in Table 42.

TABLE 42

If You Wrote a Letter to the President/Governor/County Commissioner or Mayor About Something You Believed to Be Important Would He Care About What You Had to Say? Percentage of Responses According to Location

		Would Care	Would Not Care	Don't Know
President	Urban	61%	32%	7%
	Rural	73	22	5
Governor	Urban	62	16	22
	Rural	54	12	34
Local Official				
	Urban	54	8	38
	Rural	54	12	34
(Mayor or County Commissioner)				

A comparison of the percentage of responses according to sex is presented in Table 43. From the data shown therein, it can be observed that for both boys and girls the President is more frequently seen as responsive than the officials at the state and local levels. Also, there is sizeable percentage of both boy and girl subjects who were undecided about the responsiveness of state and local officials. This percentage is particularly large for girls in relation to the local official (Mayor or County Commissioner).

TABLE 43

If You Wrote A Letter to the President/Governor/County Commissioner About Something You Believed to Be Important Would He Care About What You Had to Say? Percentage of Responses According to Sex

		Would Care	Would Not Care	Don't Know
President	Boys	65%	28%	7%
	Girls	69	26	5
Governor	Boys	58	15	27
	Girls	58	13	30
Local Official				
	Boys	61	15	24
	Girls	48	5	48
(Mayor or County Commissioner)				

Differences between boys' and girls' reactions to the three political figures can also be seen in Table 43. A much larger

proportion of boys than girls believe that the local official would care about their concerns, a larger percentage of boys than girls also believed that the local official would not care, and a much smaller percentage of boys than girls felt they did not know whether this official would care.

The findings relative to the three interview items discussed here appear to be somewhat inconsistent with the findings of the efficacy reactions to three levels of government. In reaction to the governments, the local agency was consistently chosen as better than the Federal and state governments. However in the interviews, the President was seen as more responsive than the Florida State Governor or the local official - either the mayor or county commissioners. Furthermore, the percentage of respondents who believed the local official would care about their concern was smaller than the same percentages for the President and Governor.

The difference between the size of the interview sample (N=78) and the survey population (N=707) must, of course, be recognized as an important limitation when comparing the efficacy reactions and the interview responses. However, the resulting differences, especially in regard to the Federal government and the President, suggest that the subjects may see the individual Federal official (the President) as "reachable" but the more abstract and distant Federal Government as intractable and unresponsive.

Another contrast in the results of the efficacy reactions and the responses to the three interview items was found between urban and rural subjects. In the efficacy reactions rural children chose the U.S. government over the other two a much greater percentage of times than did urban children, just the reverse was true for the local government, and there was essentially no difference between the two groups in the proportion of times they chose the state government. In response to the interviews, however, high percentages of rural and urban children felt that the President, Governor and local officials would be responsive to them. For urban children, then, the President appears to be more tractable, or at least more responsive, than does the governmental level he represents.

Political Trust Reactions to Federal, State, and Local Government

Perceptions of the comparative trustworthyness of Federal, state and local governments were the central concern in this area of investigation. The measure used here is an extension of the trust index discussed previously in the present study. This index was reworded so that the respondent was asked to indicate whether the Federal, state (Florida), or local (Jacksonville city or Alachua County) government: (1) has the smartest people; (2) does the best job of benefitting all the people it is supposed to serve; (3) is the most honest; (4) is least wasteful of the tax money it gets; and (5) can be most trusted to do what is right. The foremat of these questions can be seen in Appendix A.

To determine which level of government was most trusted, the percentage of times each government was chosen over the other two was computed. The test of chi square was used to determine whether there were significant differences between the various sub groups in their trust reactions to the three levels of government. The percentage of times the entire research sample chose each level of government as "better" than the other two is shown in Table 44.

TABLE 44

Total Group Trust Reactions to Three Levels of Government
Percentage of Times Each Level Was Chosen Over the Other Two

Governmental Level	Federal	State	Local
	46%	24%	30%

The data in Table 44 indicate that the subjects perceived the Federal government as considerably more trustworthy than either the local or state governments, and the local government was apparently seen as somewhat more deserving of trust than the state agency.

While the pattern of response for the entire research population also holds for urban subjects, a different distribution occurred among rural children. Table 45 presents a comparison of the percentage of times the urban and rural children chose the various governments.

TABLE 45

Political Trust Reactions to Three Levels of Government
Percentage of Choices For Urban and Rural Samples

Governmental Level	Federal	State	Local
Urban	44%	23%	33%
Rural	50	26	24

It can be seen in Table 45 that for rural children the local government was least trusted, the state government was accorded slightly more trust than the local agency, and the Federal level was notably higher in trust rating than the other two governments. Urban children, however, rated the local government considerably higher than the state government and although the Federal government was the most favored in terms of trust, the urban children appeared to be distinctly less trusting of the Federal agency than are rural children.

By application of the chi square test it was found that these rural-urban differences were significant at .05 level. Therefore the following null hypothesis concerning trust reactions to three levels of government is rejected:

> No significant differences exist at the .05 level between rural and urban subjects.

A review of boys' and girls' trust reactions to the various governmental levels also shows that the Federal agency was most frequently chosen over the other two. Table 46 compares the percentage of choices according to sex.

TABLE 46

Political Trust Reactions to Three Levels of Government
Percentage of Choices According to Sex

Governmental Level	Federal	State	Local
Boys	45%	25%	30%
Girls	48	23	29

The percentages, as shown in Table 46, are only slightly different for girl and boy subjects, and when submitted to the chi square test the differences were not found to be significant. In regard to political trust reactions to the three levels of government, therefore, the following null hypothesis is accepted:

No significant difference exists at the .05 level between boys and girls.

When controlling for grade level the proportion of choices indicate, again, that the Federal government was rated most highly in terms of political trust. There were, however, some important differences across the grades. These differences can be seen in Table 47.

TABLE 47

Political Trust Reactions to Three Levels of Government
Percentage of Choices According to Grade Level

Governmental Level	Federal	State	Local
8th grade	50%	25%	24%
7th grade	47	27	27
6th grade	50	23	28
5th grade	41	21	38

The most apparent difference across the grades is the trust reaction to local government. While fifth grade children chose local government over the other two 38% of the time this percentage dropped continuously to a low of only 24% for eighth grade subjects. A reverse trend is seen in regard to the state government, but here the differences in percentage are relatively slight. These percentages range from a low of 21 to a high of 27. Also, the percentage of times fifth grade children chose the Federal government as the most trustworthy is decidedly lower than the percentage of times sixth, seventh, and eighth grade children chose this level of government.

Through application of the chi square test the differences across grade levels were determined as significant at the .01 level. Thus the following null hypothesis concerning political trust reactions to three levels of government is rejected:

No significant difference exists at the .05 level between subjects in the fifth, sixth, seventh, or eighth grade levels.

The Federal government was also given a comparatively high trust rating by children in the high, medium, and low I.Q. categories. The percentage of choices by subjects in these various I.Q. groups appears in Table 48.

TABLE 48

Trust Reactions to Three Levels of Government
Percentage of Choices According to I.Q. Categories

Governmental Level	Federal	State	Local
High I.Q.	53%	21%	26%
Medium I.Q.	49	25	27
Low I.Q.	47	23	30

Although the data in Table 48 show that across the I.Q. levels there is a slight decline in the percentage of times the Federal Government was chosen, this governmental agency was apparently seen as considerably more trustworthy than the other two levels. And, again, the local government was somewhat more trusted than the state government. No significant differences were found between these I.Q. groups according to the chi square test. Thus the following null hypothesis regarding trust reactions to three levels of government is accepted:

No significant differences exist at the .05 level between subjects in the high, medium, and low I.Q. categories.

Somewhat similar trust reactions were also indicated by children in the various socioeconomic strata. Table 49 shows the percentage of choices according to economic group.

TABLE 49

Trust Reactions to Three Levels of Government
Percentage of Choice According to Socioeconomic Strata

Governmental Level	Federal	State	Local
High S.E.S.	45%	21%	34%
Medium S.E.S.	42	25	33
Low S.E.S.	48	24	28

The percentage of choices presented in Table 49 show a pattern of distribution which indicates that across all three economic groups there was decidedly more trust accorded the Federal government than either the state or local governments. Also, as in the case of most other sub groups, subjects in all three economic categories rated the local government as the second most trustworthy agency and the state government as that which is apparently to be trusted the least.

When submitted to the chi square test the differences across economic groups were not found to be significant. The following null hypothesis relative to trust reactions to the Federal, state, and local government was, therefore, accepted:

> No significant differences at the .05 level exist between subjects in the high, medium, or low socioeconomic strata.

Positive - Negative Reaction to Federal and Local Government -- Responses of Interview Sample

The responses to several interview questions provide more data concerning evaluative reactions to different levels of government. In this case the items referred only to the Federal and local governments.

Two of these questions were stated as follows:*

1. In general, what kind of job do you think the U.S. Government in Washington, D.C., is doing?
2. In general, what kind of job do you think the Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government is doing?

The responses were divided into four categories:

1. Generally positive - good, fairly good, okay, etc.
2. Generally negative - not so good, poor, bad, they could do better, etc.
3. Middle Reactions - so so, sometimes good and sometimes bad, the kind of job they usually do, etc. and
4. Don't know.

The percentage of responses relative to the Federal (U.S.) and/ local (Alachua County/Jacksonville City) governments are shown in Table 50 and 51, respectively.

TABLE 50

In general, what kind of a job do you think the U.S. Government in Washington, D.C. is doing? Percent of Responses Within Various Categories - Total Interview Sample

Generally Positive	Middle Reactions	Generally Negative	Don't Know
45%	10%	13%	32%

*These questions appear in the interview schedule included in Appendix A.

TABLE 51

In general, what kind of job do you think the Alachua County/ Jacksonville City Government is doing? Percent of Responses Within Various Categories - Total Interview Sample

Generally Positive	Middle Reactions	Generally Negative	Don't Know
33%	8%	9%	50%

As indicated in Tables 50 and 51 a noticeably larger percentage of children indicated positive responses to the Federal government than to the local agency. Also, there seemed to be more uncertainty in regard to government at the local level than at the Federal level as 50% and 33% of the responses to these respective governments fall in the "don't know" category.

When controlling for location the largest proportion of the responses, again, are found in the "generally favorable" and "don't know" categories. Table 52 presents a comparison of the percentage of responses for urban and rural samples in relation to both the local and federal governments.

TABLE 52

In general, what kind of job do you think the U.S. Government in Washington, D.C./Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government is doing? Percentage of Responses According to Location

	Generally Favorable	Middle Reaction	Generally Negative	Don't Know
Federal Government				
Rural	46%	15%	7%	32%
Urban	43	5	19	33
Local Government				
Rural	29	12	5	54
Urban	38	3	14	46

The data in Table 52 appear to indicate that within both urban and rural samples the Federal government is more highly regarded than the local government. These groups also indicated a considerable amount of uncertainty regarding the kind of job the two governments are doing as evidenced by the large percentage of "don't know" responses. The greater uncertainty, however, appears to be in reaction to local government as the percentage of "don't know" responses concerning this government were considerably larger than the corresponding percentages relative to the Federal level.

The percentages of the various responses according to sex are compared in Table 53. In this table the pattern of response is generally similar to that of the total, rural, and urban interview samples. Again, for both sexes the percentage of generally favorable reactions to the Federal government was higher than the percentage of favorable reactions to local government.

TABLE 53

In general, what kind of job do you think the U.S. Government in Washington, D.C./Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government is doing? Percent of Responses According to Sex

	Generally Favorable	Middle Response	Generally Negative	Don't Know
Federal Government				
Girls	53%	15%	8%	25%
Boys	37	5	18	39
Local Government				
Girls	35	10	3	52
Boys	31	5	16	48

Also, as in the previous cases, the percent of "don't know" response was considerably larger in reference to government at the local level than at the Federal level. Boys and girls differed little in regard to local government, but in the ratings of the Federal government girls were apparently more favorably disposed than are boys.

The following interview items were also used to gain further information about the respondents' reactions to local and Federal governments.

*1. Can you name something you think the U.S. Government in Washington, D.C. is doing that is very good? (If yes, what?)
2. Can you name something you think the Alachua County/ Jacksonville City government is doing that is very good? (If yes, what?)
3. Can you name something you think the U.S. Government in Washington, D.C. is not doing very well? (If yes, what?)
4. Can you name something you think the Alachua County/ Jacksonville City government is not doing very well? (If yes, what?)

A comparison of the percentage of respondents who named and did not name something "good" about the Federal government's performance and the percentage of subjects naming something "good" in reference to their local government are compared in Table 54.

TABLE 54

Can you name something you think the U.S. Government in Washington, D.C./Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government is doing that is very good? Percentage of Respondents Naming and Not Naming Something "Good" - Total Interview Sample

	Named	Did Not Name
Federal Government	53%	47%
Local Government	40	60

*See interview schedule Appendix A.

This comparison show that positive comments regarding the performance of the Federal government are more readily elicited than are similar remarks relative to local government.

The "good" things named by the respondents in reference to the Federal government ranged widely. However, a few groups of generally similar comments did emerge. Fifteen children, or 19% of the total interview sample, named helping people, giving us help, or just "helping" as something good being done by the Federal government.

Seven children, or 9% of the total, made responses which indicated that the government was doing a good job in the Viet Name War. Other comments included the following:

... three praising the Federal government for welfare (5%)
... two stating that the Federal government was doing a good job of keeping law and order (3%)
... two naming the Federal Housing Program as a good thing. (3%)
... twelve miscellaneous comments which included such things as: fighting, pollution, getting jobs for people, keeping schools running well, and helping with peace and freedom (15%).

When controlling for location, again the percentage of subjects naming something good is considerably higher in response to the Federal Government than to the local government. These percentages are shown in Table 55.

TABLE 55

Can You Name Something That You Think the U.S. Government In Washington, D.C./Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government Is Doing That Is Very Good? Percentage of Responses For Urban and Rural Subjects

	Named	Did Not Name
Federal Government		
Rural	51%	49%
Urban	54	46
Local Government		
Rural	44	56
Urban	35	65

In Table 55 it can be seen that for both urban and rural groups the percentages of response to the Federal Government are quite similar, however, the difference between the percentages of positive responses relative to the two governments is somewhat larger for urban subjects than for rural subjects. Apparently, these urban children, are considerably more aware of the good things the Federal Government does than the good performed by their city government.

A comparison of boys' and girls' responses, presented in Table 56, also shows that for both sexes there are more responses about the good performance of Federal Government than of local government.

The major difference in boys' and girls' responses was in regard to Federal Government. The percent of girls naming something good was notably higher than that percentage for boys.

TABLE 56

Can You Name Something You Think the U.S. Government In Washington, D.C./Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government Is Doing That Is Very Good? Percentage of Responses According to Sex

	Named	Did Not Name
Federal Government		
Boys	47%	53%
Girls	58	42
Local Government		
Boys	38	62
Girls	41	59

The good things named in reference to the local government also ranged widely. But here too some general categories emerged. The largest of these was helping the poor and/or needy. This was named by six children, 8% of the total interview sample. Five children, 6% of the total, simply stated that the local government "helped people" and there was no specific reference to the type of help given. The remainder of the comments included:

... two references to the local government helping to provide housing (3%)
... two praising the local government for fighting pollution (3%)
... two named helping the unemployed as that which is good (3%)
... another two referred to maintainance of the local areas as good (3%)
... and the remaining seven indicated miscellaneous responses, such as helping people in Black schools, keeping people healthy, working hard, and spending money on recreation.

Criticisms of the Federal and local governments were not as numerous as statements of praise. Although large percentages of the interviewed children indicated that they could not name anything good regarding the Federal and local governments, neither could many children state a specific criticism. The percentages of children who named and did not name something the Federal and local governments were doing well are shown in Table 57, page 79.

A comparison of the percentages of rural and urban subjects citing criticisms is presented in Table 58. From the data in this table it can be seen that although the percentages of children stating criticisms of the Federal agency are considerably higher than the corresponding percentages regarding the local governments, the only rather sizeable percentage of criticisms relative to either governmental level came from the urban group. As shown in the table, 44%

TABLE 57

Can You Name Something You Think the U.S. Government In Washington, D.C./Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government Is Not Doing Well? Percentage of Respondents Stating and Not Stating Criticism - Total Interview Sample

	Stated Criticism	No Criticism
Federal Government	35%	65%
Local Government	8	92

of the urban children offered a criticism of the Federal Government, only 29% of the urban sample indicated a similar response and these dropped to 11% for the urban children and 5% for the rural children in reference to local government.

TABLE 58

Can You Name Something You Think the U.S. Government In Washington, D.C./Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government Is Not Doing Very Well? Percentage of Responses According to Location

	Stated Criticism	No Criticism
Federal Government		
Rural	29%	71%
Urban	44	66
Local Government		
Rural	5	95
Urban	11	89

When controlling for sex some notable differences are found in the percentages of criticism relative to the two governmental levels. Table 59 compares the percentage of boys and girls criticising and not criticising the local and Federal agencies.

As shown therein neither group differed or offered much criticism of local government, but these percentages increased sharply in regard to the Federal Government. And, in comparison to the girls, an especially large percentage of male respondents stated a criticism of the Federal Government.

The nature of the criticisms were quite varied. However, several general areas of common concern were found. In the largest of these six children, 8% of the total sample, charged the government with making taxes too high. Four respondents, 5% of the total, made general statements simply stating that the Federal Government was "doing wrong." Mishandling money was indicated by three children (4%). The same number indicated that there was not enough being done about the war (4%) and another three (4%) said there was not enough being done about pollution. The remainder (10%) named a variety of miscellaneous criticisms which included such things as:

TABLE 59

Can You Name Something You Think the U.S. Government In Washington, D.C./Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government Is Not Doing Well? Percentage of Responses According to Sex

	Stated Criticism	No Criticism
Federal Government		
Boys	47%	53%
Girls	23	77
Local Government		
Boys	8	92
Girls	8	92

not providing housing for the poor, not doing anything about unemployment, not sending food to starving people, and not fixing up the towns.

In relation to local government a total of only six children, 8% of the interview sample offered criticisms. These included: not helping people, not stopping pollution, simply "doing nothing," and allowing electricity rates to be raised.

PART IV - SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the present investigation, answers to the following two research questions were sought:

1. What is the nature of the basic political orientation of Black elementary school children in northern Florida?
2. Within this population of children what differences appear in the political orientations of those from rural and urban areas, boys and girls, and those in various I.Q., socioeconomic, and grade levels?

The following seven areas of political orientation were the focus of this study:

1. political efficacy
2. political trust
3. image of the government
4. image of the President
5. image of the policeman
6. efficacy reactions to Federal, state, and local levels of government
7. trust reactions to Federal, state, and local levels of government

The first five of the above areas were selected as determiners of basic political orientation. These areas were chosen because of their theoretical significance and because they had been widely used in politicial socialization studies of children.

The trust and efficacy reactions to the Federal, state, and local governments were used to determine which of these governments was viewed most favorably by the children surveyed in the present study.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested in this study:

1. No significant differences exist between rural and urban subjects in all areas investigated (political efficacy, political trust, images of the President, the policeman, and the government, and efficacy and trust ratings of three levels of government).
2. No significant differences exist between children in the various grade levels in all areas investigated.
3. No significant differences exist between boys and girls in all areas investigated.
4. No significant differences exist between children who fall within various I.Q. levels in all areas investigated.
5. No significant differences exist between children

from various socioeconomic strata in all areas of investigation.

An analysis of variance technique was used to test the differences relative to political trust efficacy, and images of the government, President, and policeman. The test of chi square was used to determine the significance of difference in trust and efficacy reactions to three levels of government. In all of these tests the .05 level of probability was used as the criterion of significance.

Procedures

The subjects of the study were 707 Black children in grades five through eight. This sample was comprised of 282 children randomly selected from rural schools in Alachua County, Florida and 424 urban children randomly selected from schools located in the city of Jacksonville, Florida.

The instrument administered to the total research population was a paper and pencil survey which included indexes of: political efficacy, political trust, the images of the government, the Presidentand policeman, efficacy reactions to three levels of government, and trust reactions to three levels of government. The first five indexes (political efficacy, political trust, and the images) were modeled closely after similar indexes used widely in previous political socialization studies. The scales used to measure efficacy and trust reactions to three levels of government were extensions of the political trust and efficacy indexes noted above. These indexes were reworded to ask respondents which level of government (state, local, or Federal) was most trustworthy and responsive to the people.

A follow up interview of 78 children was also conducted. This was done to gather further data relative to the areas of political orientation delt with in this study. The interview items were based on similar questions used in prior investigations of children's political orientation.

Findings

General Positive - Negative Orientation

Among this study's subjects, generally negative political orientations were found to prevail.

In terms of political efficacy a large majority of the subjects surveyed indicated medium to low levels of efficacy while only 10% of the total sample indicated high levels of efficacy. Furthermore, the percentage of children in the high efficacy range tended to decrease from the fifth to the eighth grades while the percentages in the low efficacy range increased across these grades. When compared with children involved in similar studies the subjects of the present research indicated generally lower levels of efficacy. This was the case in regard to both Black and modal children who were the subjects of other investigations.

Levels of political trust among the present research population also tended to be low. The proportion of children in the high

trust category ranged from seventeen to twenty - three per cent across the fifth through eighth grade levels. In the low trust category the range was from nineteen to thirty - four per cent and the medium category ranged from forty - eight to fifty - seven per cent.

When compared to Black children in a similar study, the present subjects indicated generally similar levels of trust. However, in the comparison study a considerably larger percentage of fifth and sixth grade children indicated high levels of trust than did the fifth and sixth grade youngsters of the present investigation. And, according to data concerning the political trust levels of modal children, subjects of the present study are decidedly less trusting by comparison.

The subjects surveyed here also indicated generally negative reactions in response to both the image of the government and of the President. With very few exceptions the various sub groups within the research population obtained mean scores on the image of the government and President indexes which reflected negative reactions to these two political objects.

The only exception to the trend of generally negative attitudes was in reaction to the policeman. The various sub group mean scores on the image of the policeman index nearly all indicated positive rather than negative evaluations.

Efficacy And Trust Reactions To Federal, State, And Local Government

Of the three levels of government, the local level was most frequently chosen as that agency which best fosters and sustains the citizen's efforts to be politically efficacous. With one exception the various sub groups ; rural, urban, boys, girls, grade, I.Q. and socioeconomic levels, chose the local government a greater percentage of times than the Federal or state agencies. Only the low I.Q. group chose another government (Federal) as frequently as the local government. And, in this regard, the state government was least frequently chosen by this research population.

In contrast to the efficacy reactions, the Federal agency is apparently seen as the most trustworthy of the three governments. All of the various sub groups delt with in the study chose the Federal government a considerably greater percentage of times than either of the other levels. The local government was accorded somewhat more trust than the state government except by seventh grade, eighth grade, and rural sub samples.

Differences According To Various Sub Groups

In regard to political efficacy, political trust, image of the government and image of the President, no significant differences were found according to location. Thus, for these areas of investigation, the null hypotheses regarding the differences between urban and rural subjects were accepted. However, the null hypotheses concerning urban and rural differences relative to the image of the policeman, and efficacy and trust reactions to three levels of government, were rejected. Urban children were significantly more positive in their rating of the policeman than were rural children.

In their efficacy reactions a considerably greater percentage of urban children favored the local government than did rural children and the reverse was true in relation to the Federal government. Efficacy reactions to the state government differed little for the two groups.

In their trust reactions to the levels of government, the Federal level was rated the highest by both groups, but the percentage of times rural subjects chose the Federal government over the other two was considerably larger than that percentage for the urban sample. Also, the urban group chose the local government a notably greater percentage of the time than did rural children. There was little difference between the groups in their reaction to government at the state level.

Sex Differences

No significant differences were found between boys and girls in mean scores on the political efficacy, political trust, and image of the government indexes, or in their efficacy and trust reactions to three levels of government. For these areas of investigation, therefore, the null hypotheses regarding sex differences were accepted.

Only in regard to the images of the President and the policemanwere there significant differences between boys and girls. In both cases the girls indicated distinctly more positive attitudes toward these figures than did the boys. The null yhpotheses regarding sex differences in ratings of the policeman and the President were, therefore, rejected.

Grade Level Differences

No significant differences across grade levels were deter - mined in political efficacy, political trust, or in trust reactions to three levels of government. For these areas of investigation the null hypotheses concerning grade level differences were accepted. However, the null hypotheses concerning grade level differences regarding the images of the government, President, and policeman and efficacy reactions to three levels of government were rejected. In reaction to the policeman and the government, mean rating scores reflected a sharply increasing negative view across the fifth through eighth grade groups. Reaction to the President was not so consistent, however. Here the most positive image occured among the fifth grade sample and the least positive image was indicated by the sixth grade sample. The seventh grade children were considerably more positive in their view of the President than were the sixth grade children, but seventh graders were less positive than fifth grade children. The eighth grade sample was slightly less positive in their view of the President than was the seventh grade sample.

In their trust reactions to three levels of government the percentage of times the local government was chosen over the other two dropped continuously from the fifth through eighth grade. And, although the Federal government was most frequently chosen as the

most trustworthy agency, fifth graders chose this level of government a decidedly smaller percentage of the time than did children in the other three grades.

I.Q. Differences

Children in the high, medium, and low I.Q. categories did not differ significantly in their mean scores on the efficacy and image of the President indexes nor in their trust reactions to three levels of government. For these areas of investigation, then, the null hypotheses regarding differences according to I.Q. were accepted.

Significant differences were found among children in the various I.Q. groups in their political trust levels, their images of the policeman and government, and in their efficacy reactions to local, Federal, and state government. Thus for these areas of investigation the null hypotheses regarding differences according to I.Q. level were rejected.

In regard to political trust, it was found that children in the high I.Q. group indicated a comparatively high level of trust but this level dropped sharply and continuously across the medium and low I.Q. groups.

Differences between I.Q. groups on the image of the government and the image of the policeman index were unusually similar in pattern. Children in the high I.Q. category obtained mean scores which indicated an exceptionally more positive reaction to the policeman and the government than did the mean scores of children in the other two groups. Also, the mean scores dropped continuously and dramatically across the medium and low I.Q. levels.

In their efficacy reactions to three levels of government, the percentage of times local government was chosen increased considerably from the low to high I.Q. groups while the percentage of times the Federal agency was chosen decreased sharply from the high to low levels. There were only slight differences in the percentage of times the three groups chose the state government.

Differences According To Socioeconomic Strata

No significant differences were found between children in the three socioeconomic strata in their political trust levels, their images of the President, government, and policeman and their trust reactions to three levels of government. For these areas the null hypotheses relative to differences according to socioeconomic strata were accepted.

Only in regard to political efficacy and efficacy reactions to three levels of government was there a rejection of the null hypotheses concerning differences between socioeconomic groups. The high socioeconomic group indicated a much higher degree of efficacy than either the medium or low groups.And in their efficacy reactions to the various governmental levels the socioeconomic groups differed most in the percentage of times they chose the Federal and local levels. The percentage of times children in the high socioeconomic

strata chose the Federal government over the other two was extremely low in comparison to the same percentages for those in the medium and low socioeconomic categories. There was also a notable difference in the percentage of times each group chose the local government. Here the greatest percentage was recorded for children in the upper socioeconomic strata and these percentages dropped rather sharply across the medium and low groups. There was essentially no difference in the various group reactions to the state government.

Conclusions

Political Efficacy

Two of the present study's findings relative to political efficacy run counter to the results of previous investigations. First, it was found that the levels of efficacy indicated by the older children were no higher than the levels indicated by the younger children. This finding is contrary to those of every other study which has delt with political efficacy of similar age subjects. Regardless of race it has been found repeatedly that the level of efficacy rises among the older groups of children.[43]

Another finding of the present study which conflicts with the results of prior investigations is in the relationship of intelligence and efficacy. Although these prior investigations have all delt with modal children, it has been found that high intelligence is positively related to high efficacy. By contrast, there were no significant differences in the efficacy levels of this study's high, medium, and low I.Q. groups.

It has been argued that the more intelligent child, that is; the child with the higher I.Q., is more able to understand his surroundings and hence is more likely to believe he can influence his environment. It has also been argued that political efficacy is a norm to be learned and intelligent children are more likely to learn it.[44] While these arguments may explain the results of prior studies focused on the modal child, they do not hold for the children of the present study. Of the three I.Q. groups surveyed here, those in the low category indicated higher efficacy levels (though not significantly higher) than did subjects in the high and medium I.Q. categories.

The generally low levels of efficacy reflected by the present research population are probably best explained in terms of economic deprivation. In a comprehensive study of American school children, Coleman found that youngesters from low economic levels were less likely to feel they could control their environment than those from high economic levels.[45] Previous studies concerned with the political efficacy levels of children have also found that those from low socioeconomic backgrounds perceive themselves and their families as having comparatively little say in or control over the government.[46]

Since a large majority of the present research population came from families where the breadwinners held low income jobs it seems reasonable to conclude that economic depravation had an important effect on the efficacy levels of these children.* This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the only significant difference in efficacy levels of the present research population occured across socioeconomic groups. Children in the low socioeconomic group were the lowest in efficacy level, there was a moderate increase in efficacy among children in the medium economic category, and the level of efficacy increased dramatically among those in the upper socioeconomic strata.

A serious implication of these findings is that the prospects of increasing levels of efficacy among the present research population appear unlikely. As these children actually indicated a decrease in efficacy across the fifth through eighth grades, it would seem that maturity has ,if anything, the effect of diminishing feelings of efficacy. Also, if the low feelings of efficacy are the result of economic deprivation, the efficacy levels of these children are unlikely to change unless their economic level moves sharply upward. Given the evidence regarding the upward mobility of Blacks in our society a significant rise in their collective economic status seems unlikely to come for years to come.

Political Trust

The subjects of the present study were found to indicate lower levels of political trust than either the Black or modal children who were subjects of similar investigations. This finding lends some weight to the assertion that over time Black children have become increasingly negative in their political outlook, especially in terms of political trust. In a survey of political socialization research dealing with Black children, Abramson has noted that the studies conducted prior to 1967 found these children indicating generally high levels of political trust - as high or higher than White children.[47] After 1967, Abramson notes, various researchers found that the level of trust for Black youths was much lower than that for White children. Although the present investigation did not include a comparison of political trust levels by race, these levels tended to be low for the youngsters surveyed here - as low as those reported in a recent investigation of Black children from the North. Thus the present investigation, by providing no contrary evidence, lends a degree of sup-

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* In section II of this report it was pointed out that over 90% of the occupations listed for the parents of this research population were of the low skill - low income types. By using Hollingshead's system of determining socioeconomic status on the basis of occupation and education, three socioeconomic levels were identified, but the number of subjects in the upper and middle levels totaled only thirty - two and eighty - eight respectively.

port to Abramson's contention that political mistrust appears to be growing among Black youth.

The only significant differences in the political trust levels of the children surveyed in this study was between the various I.Q. groups. The level of trust was comparatively high for those in the high I.Q. category, but these levels diminished sharply and continuously across the medium and low I.Q. groups. As there are no prior impirical data relating intelligence to feelings of political trust, the present finding is difficult to explain. Logically it could be argued that intelligent persons are discriminating and, therefore, are less likely to see politicians as dishonest. However, it might also be argued that those with lower intelligence might be incapable of finding fault with their political leaders and their ultimate trust levels would tend to be high. Obviously, further data regarding intelligence and political trust are needed before more refined conclusions can be drawn relative to this concern.

Image Of The Government

The present research population indicated generally negative reactions to the government. With few exceptions the mean scores on the image of the government index were closer to the negative rather than the positive end of the rating continuum.

Among the grade level sub samples fifth grade children obtained mean scores on the government index which indicated a generally positive view of the government. However, there was a rapid and statistically significant decline in these scores across the grades. This result suggests that as they mature, the subjects of this study become increasingly aware of the negative aspects and harsh realities of governmental affairs.

A rapid decline in the government's image also occurred across the high to low I.Q. groups. Children in the high I.Q. category were quite positive in their rating of the government but there was a sharp drop in this rating for medium I.Q. subjects and another exceedingly sharp decline for those in the low I.Q. category. Here, too, as in relation to political trust, the children with the higher I.Q.'s are apparently more inclined to base their reactions on the positive rather than the negative aspects of government.

Image Of The President

Generally negative reactions to the President were also found to prevail among the present research population. As in their reactions to the government, the various sub group scores were nearly all closer to the negative rather than the positive end of the rating continuum. The only significant differences in the rating of the President were between boys and girls and across grade levels.

Fifth grade children rated the President relatively high, but these ratings declined across the grade levels. This pattern of

declining presidential image among the older groups of elementary school children has been found to be the case in previous studies with both Black and White subjects.[48] It would appear that for the the younger children of both races the President is seen virtually as a demigod but his image becomes more realistically perceived as these youngsters mature. The important racial difference is in the rate of decline, as previous research has shown the image of the President to diminish much more rapidly among Black than among White children.[49]

As noted above, the present research population showed a general decline in the image of the President across the age - grade levels. However, when controlling for sex, different patterns emerged. For fifth grade girls the President's image was quite positive, it declined somewhat for girls in the sixth grade, then moved increasingly toward the positive end of the continuum across grades seven and eight. Eighth grade girls were slightly more positive in their view of the President than were fifth grade girls. The pattern for boys was much different. In the fifth and seventh grades the boys indicated relatively positive views of the President while their counterparts in the sixth and eighth grades were exceptionally negative in this regard. It is difficult to say why girls and boys differed so widely in their views, yet these differences might be attributed to maturity. Because they generally mature earlier than boys, the girls may have formed a more "set" view of the President and are less likely to alter that view from year to year.

Image Of The Policeman

Of the three political objects (government, policeman, and President) rated by this study's subjects, only the policeman was apparently seen in a generally favorable light. All of the various sub groups except those in the low I.Q. category obtained mean scores on the image of the policeman index which reflected positive rather than negative reactions.

The subjects' reactions to the policeman also differed from their reactions to the government and the President in the number of significant differences which occurred between sub groups. These included significant differences between boys and girls, rural and urban groups, those in the various grade levels, and those in the various I.Q. categories.

In regard to urban and rural differences, urban children obtained a mean score on the policeman's image index that was significantly higher (more positive) than the index score for rural children. This finding is somewhat surprising in that during the two years prior to the time this study was carried out, the Jacksonville police and Black Jacksonville residents had been in a number of confrontations several of which resulted in the city's mayor declaring curfews in the neighborhoods where the "disturbances" had occurred. Such action had been taken twice a few months before this survey was conducted. No such confrontations and/or curfews apparently occurred in the areas from which the rural subjects of this study came.

The negative effects of the difficulties between Jacksonville Blacks and the police may, however, have been offset for the urban children by a series of locally run television ads which show a Black Jacksonville policeman promoting the police department. Also, there is a program of police public relations which involves visits to the schools by policemen who show the children films and discuss their duties with the youngsters. Such programs may not only offset possible negative attitudinal effects but may also have contributed to the creation of positive attitudes among the urban subjects surveyed in this study.

In regard to boys' and girls' ratings of the policeman, girls were found to be significantly more positive than were boys. This finding and the fact that girls were also significantly more positive in their view of the President, suggests that the male - female political differences which have been determined among adults may already be partly established in the present research population. If this is true, these children are, perhaps, unique in this regard as no such differences have been reported in other studies of either Black or White children of this age.

Significant differences in the image of the policeman were also determined across grade levels. Mean scores on the image of the policeman index were lower for children in the upper grades than for children in the lower grades. This trend, which is consistent with the findings of previous research, suggests that older children appear to become more aware of the policeman's negative attributes than do the younger children.

The differences in reaction to the policeman by children in the various I.Q. groups followed patterns which were similar to their ratings of the government. The highest ratings of the policeman were indicated by children in the high I.Q. category, these ratings declined somewhat for the medium I.Q. group, and there was a dramatic decline in rating among children in the low I.Q. level. This finding plus the fact that the various I.Q. groups showed similar patterns in terms of political trust and reaction to the President suggests that for the present research population I.Q. may be an important factor in the quality of their relationship with the political system.

Efficacy Reactions To Federal, State, And Local Government

In response to the various items which ask subjects to indicate the level of government that best fosters and sustains efficacy among the citizenry, the research population chose the local government the greatest percentage of times, and the Federal government was generally selected a slightly greater percentage of times than the state government. The basis of the choice of local government may be simply that the local agency is the smallest and physically closest of the three and is therefore viewed as the most controllable and responsive to its constituents.

Three sub groups differed significantly in their efficacy reactions: urban and rural groups, those in the various I.Q. levels,

and those in the three socioeconomic categories.

In regard to urban and rural differences it was found that urban children chose the local government as best a considerably greater percentage of the time than did the rural children. The state and Federal levels were were chosen a somewhat greater proportion of the time by the rural group than by the urban subjects. This difference might be attributed to the kind of public exposure the Jacksonville government receives. Jacksonville's political officials are given a considerable a considerable amount of coverage in the various local news media and city council meetings are frequently shown in their entirety on educational T.V. No such coverage is afforded the Alachua County (rural) government although the local papers give considerable space to the affairs of the county government.

In regard to differences across I.Q. groups, it was found that children in the high and medium categories were essentially the same in the percentage of times they chose the various governments. However, children in the low I.Q. group chose the Federal government a considerably greater percentage of times and the local government a considerably smaller percentage of times than did the two other I.Q. groups. It is possible that the children with higher I.Q.'s are more aware of the difficulties of reaching and affecting the larger and more distant Federal and state agencies. It may also be that the higher I.Q. children are more aware of the practical economic limitations relative to their influencing and/or obtaining a response from the Federal and state governments. As noted earlier, even though it was possible to divide the present research population into three socioeconomic levels using a formula involving education and occupation, the vast majority of subjects came from families of low economic status. The children with higher I.Q.'s may be more perceptive regarding their own economic situation and the ultimate implications that situation has for directly affecting governments which are more distant and more complex than the local unit.

Differences between the various socioeconomic groups lay in their efficacy reactions to the Federal and local governments. The percentage of times the local agency was chosen rose sharply and continuously from the low to the high socioeconomic groups and just the reverse was true in relation to the Federal agency. The basis of this finding may lie in the possibility that those in the high socioeconomic group are much less likely to rely upon Federal programs of assistance to meet their needs than are those from the low economic group. As a result children in the high group may not perceive the Federal government as particularly responsive to them.

Responses to three interview questions were also relevant to this area of investigation. These questions were: If you wrote a letter to (1) the President, (2) the governor, (3) the mayor/ county commissioner, would he care about what you had to say? Overall, the percentage of respondents who believed the President would care

was larger than the corresponding percentages for either the governor or local officials. It would seem, given the generally favorable efficacy reactions to local government, that the local official would have been perceived as the political figure most likely to care about the respondent's letter. Instead, the percentage of respondents who believed the local official "would care" was even somewhat less than that percentage for the governor. Apparently, for these children, the individual official may be seen as responsive even though the governmental level he represents is not.

Trust Reactions To Three Levels Of Government

In contrast to efficacy reactions, it was the Federal government that was chosen as the most trustworthy of the three agencies in question. Every sub group within the research population chose the Federal government a greater percentage of times than the local or state governments.

Differences in trust reaction were found between rural and urban groups and across grade levels.

Rural children chose the Federal government a notably greater percentage of times than did the urban group, and urban children chose local government a considerably greater percentage of times than did their rural counterparts. Threr was little difference in regard to state government.

It is possible that for the rural children the visibility of the Federal government via the various media and the relatively little exposure of the local and state governments contributes to a more favorable reaction to the Federal level.

Exposure by the media may also be a factor contributing to the comparitively high percentage of times the local government was chosen by urban children. It was pointed out previously in this discussion that Jacksonville's political affairs receive broad coverage by the local media and this may have some degree of positive effect on the urban children's trust of local government.

In regard to differences across grade levels, it was found that the percentage of times the local government was chosen decreased markedly and continuously across the fifth through eighth grades. Another sharp difference occurred in reaction to the Federal government. The percentage of times fifth grade children chose the Federal unit was considerably smaller than the corresponding percentages for sixth, seventh, and eighth graders. For this research sample it appears that the trust credited to local government diminishes as the child matures while the trust of Federal government tends to increase along the age dimension.

Implications For The Public School

An Educational Need

In the introduction of this report it was pointed out that the present study was designed for two purposes: (1) to describe and compare the political orientations of fourth through eighth grade Black

children from a rural and an urban setting of northern Florida; and (2) to use the findings of this research to determine whether a need for political education programs exists.

The findings - the descriptions and comparisons - have been delt with here, but these do not of themselves determine the need for appropriate school programs. Such determinations are essentially value judgments based on a complex of philosophical positions regarding the purposes of education and the relationship of the school to the political system. In this regard, then, the interpretations, conclusions, and recommendations presented below are primarily expressions of the present writers philosophies.

If the position taken is that schools should strive to perpetuate the society's political system through programs designed to instill positive attitudes toward and an appreciation for that system, then the negative orientations found to prevail among the children surveyed in the present research have defined an educational need.

To meet that need it might be argued that bigger and better programs of instilling positive attitudes are required. However, concerted efforts to instill supportive political attitudes are questionable in that such endeavors contravene some of the principal tenets on which the political system is supposed to be based, namely: freedom of choice and open consideration of societal issues. Furthermore, the sociopolitical realities of Black children's lives seem likely to negate the intended effect of programs designed to "sell" the system regardless of the enthusiasm with which such programs are rendered. In this regard, Cleary has pointed out that the school's efforts to present an idealized view of the political system to young children may well lead to overreaction when they mature and become exposed to a more realistic view of American politics.[50] Cleary also asserts that such overreaction may be especially likely for members of minority groups. As youngsters, Cleary notes, those from minority groups are taught to believe that equality of opportunity and equal rights before the law are taken for granted in the American society. As adults, however, they are likely to suffer inequities brought on by prejudice and discrimination. Experiencing such inequities, Cleary contends, may well lead to the political disillusionment which has been found to be an important underlying cause of ghetto riots.

Assuming, then, that programs designed to instill positive attitudes are both undesirable and unlikely to be effective, it might be argued, and often is in such cases, that the negative political orientations of the children studied here are simply no concern of the school. Such a stance, however, ignores the possible negative implications of a situation in which major segments of the society differ widely in their political orientations. As Greenberg has pointed out:

> Other things being equal, the degree of stability or instability in a political

> system is directly proportional to the distribution of supportive attitudes among its members.[51]

Furthermore, those who are primarily negative in their political orientations may well become politically apathetic and/or alienated. The apathetic are politically crippled. Through their apathy they relinquish any political power or control they may have realized, and as a result are controlled in political matters.

The alienated are, on the other hand, likely to be active or potential enemies of the political system.[52] Given the history of social and political injustices suffered by Black people the likelyhood of their alienation is neither surprising nor unjustifiable. However, if such alienation is manifested in acts which are perceived as threats to the political values of the dominant culture, serious conflicts and social upheaval are likely to result.

Not only are these undesirable consequences of major societal differences in political orientation, but in light of the power the dominant culture is able to muster it would appear that any minority which chooses to conflict with that culture jeopardizes rather than enhances its chances of achieving desired political outcomes.

Thus it is concluded by this writer that the results of the present study do in fact define an educational need. As noted previously, this need is not to change Black children's negative political attitudes to positive ones but to provide programs that help both young Blacks and Whites become aware of the promise and the failures of our political system. Such programs should also help children to define their own political goals, to become aware of the political goal conflicts which occur in a pluralistic society, and to help them seek solutions to political problems through open and honest forms of inquiry.

Obviously, the extension of these general recommendations into a substantive plan for political education is beyond the scope of this report. However, the extension and ultimate implementation of experimental programs based on these recommendations is viewed by this writer as an appropriate means of dealing with the political education need defined here.

APPENDIX A - RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

QUESTIONNAIRE AND INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
CODE								

I 1 2 II 1 2 III 4 5 6 7 8 IV 1 2 3

V _____

VI _____

VII _____

VIII _____

Please Print

Your name _____

Your address _____

_____

Your school _____

Your grade in school (circle one) 4 5 6 7 8

I am a (circle one) boy girl

(Efficacy)

1. What happens in the government will happen no matter what people do. It is like the weather, there is nothing people can do about it.

1. YES 2. yes 3. Don't know / No opinion 4. no 5. NO

2. There are some big powerful men in the government who are running the whole thing and they do not care about us ordinary people.

1. YES 2. yes 3. Don't know / No opinion 4. no 5. NO

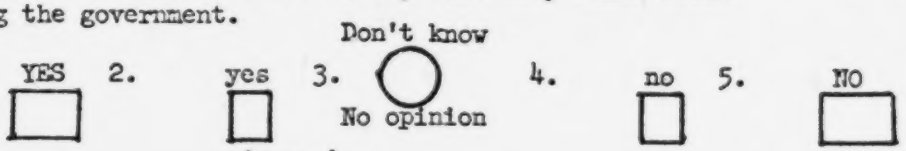
3. My family doesn't have any say about what the government does.

1. YES 2. yes 3. Don't know / No opinion 4. no 5. NO

4. I don't think people in the government care much about what people like my family think.

1. YES 2. yes 3. Don't know / No opinion 4. no 5. NO

5. Citizens don't have a chance to say what they think about running the government.



(Trust)

6. Do you think that
   A. hardly any people in the government are crooked
   B. not very many people running the government are crooked
   C. quite a few people running the government are crooked.
7. Do you think people in the government
   A. don't waste very much of the money we pay in taxes
   B. waste some of the money we pay in taxes
   C. waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes.
8. How much of the time do you think you can trust the government to do what is right?
   A. only some of the time
   B. most of the time
   C. just about always.
9. Do you think that
   A. almost all the people running the government are smart people who usually know what they are doing
   B. of those who run the government, there are about as many people who do not know what they are doing as there are smart people who do know what they are doing
   C. most of the people running the government don't seem to know what they are doing.
10. The government is run for the benefit of
   A. all the people
   B. most people
   C. a few powerful groups of people.

(Image of the Government)

Think of the government as it really is. Circle the answer which best describes what you think.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
11.	The government never makes mistakes.	The government almost never makes mistakes.	The government sometimes makes mistakes.	The government often makes mistakes.	The government always makes mistakes.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
12.	The government would always help me if I needed it.	The government would almost always help me if I needed it.	The government would sometimes help me if I needed it.	The government would seldom help me if I needed it.	The government would never want to help me if I needed it.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
13.	The government always makes important decisions.	The government almost always makes important decisions.	The government sometimes makes important decisions.	The government seldom makes important decisions.	The government never makes important decisions.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
14.	The government can punish anyone.	The government can punish almost anyone.	The government can punish some people.	The government can punish only a few people.	The government can punish no one.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
15.	The government always protects me.	The government almost always protects me.	The government sometimes protects me.	The government seldom protects me.	The government never protects me.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
16.	The government always keeps its promises.	The government almost always keeps its promises.	The government sometimes keeps its promises.	The government seldom keeps its promises.	The government never keeps its promises.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
17.	The government knows more than anyone.	The governments knows more than almostanyone.	The government knows as much as most people.	The government knows less than most people.	The government knows less than anyone.

(Image of the President)

Think of the President as he really is. Circle the answer which best describes what you think.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
18.	The President is more powerful than anyone.	The President is more powerful than almost anyone.	The President is about as powerful as most people.	The President is less powerful than than most people.	The President is less powerful than almost anyone.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
19.	The President works harder than anyone.	The President works harder than almost anyone.	The Presidents works about as hard as most people.	The President works less than most people.	The President works less than almost anyone.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
20.	The President always keeps his promises.	The President almost always keeps his promises.	The President keeps some of his promises.	The President usually does not keep his promises.	The President almost never keeps his promises.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
21.	I like the President more than I like anyone.	I like the President more than I like most people.	I like the President about as much as I like most people.	I like the President less than I like most people.	I like the President less than I like anyone.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
22.	The President never makes mistakes.	The President almost never makes mistakes.	The President sometimes makes mistakes.	The President usually makes mistakes.	The President almost always makes mistakes.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
23.	The President would always want to help me if I needed help.	The President would almost always want to help me if I needed help.	The President would want to help me about as much as most people if I needed help.	The President would seldom want to help me if I needed help.	The President would not want to help me if I needed help.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
24.	The President makes important decisions all the time.	The President makes important decisions almost all of the time.	The President makes important decisions sometimes and sometimes he doesn't.	The President seldom makes important decisions.	The President almost never makes important decisions.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
25.	The President can punish anyone.	The President can punish almost anyone.	The President can punish some people.	The President can punish a few people.	The President can punish no one.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
26.	The President knows more than anyone.	The President knows more than almost anyone.	The President knows about as much as most people.	The President knows less than most people.	The President knows less than anyone.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
27.	The President is always a leader.	The President is almost always a leader.	The President is sometimes a leader.	The President is seldom a leader.	The President is never a leader.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
28.	The President protects me more than anyone.	The President protects me more than most people do.	The President protects me about as much as other people do.	The President protects me less than most people do.	The President protects me less than anyone.

(Image of the Policeman)

Think of a policeman as he really is. Circle the answer which best describes what you think.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
29.	A policeman is more powerful than anyone.	A policeman is more powerful than almost anyone.	A policeman is about as powerful as most people.	A policeman is less powerful than most people.	A policeman is less powerful than anyone.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
30.	A policeman works harder than anyone.	A policeman works harder than almost anyone.	A policeman works about as hard as most people.	A policeman works less than most people.	A policeman works less than almost anyone.
31.	I like the policeman more than I like anyone.	I like the policeman more than I like most people.	I like the policeman about as much as I like most people.	I like the policeman less than I like most people.	I like the policeman less than I like almost anyone.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
32.	A policeman always keeps his promises.	A policeman almost always keeps his promises.	A policeman keeps his promises about as much as most people.	A policeman usually does not keep his promises.	A policeman almost never keeps his promises.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
33.	A policeman never makes mistakes.	A policeman almost never makes mistakes.	A policeman sometimes makes mistakes.	A policeman usually makes mistakes.	A policeman always makes mistakes.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
34.	A policeman would always want to help me if I needed help.	A policeman would almost always want to help me if I needed help.	A policeman would help me about as much as most people if I needed help.	A policeman would seldom want to help me if I needed help.	A policeman would not want to help me if I needed help.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
35.	A policeman makes important decisions all of the time.	A policeman makes important decisions almost all of the time.	A policeman makes important decisions sometimes and sometimes he doesn't.	A policeman seldom makes important decisions.	A policeman never makes important decisions.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
36.	A policeman can punish anyone.	A policeman can punish almost anyone.	A policeman can punish some people.	A policeman can punish a few people.	A policeman can punish no one.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
37.	A policeman knows more than anyone.	A policeman knows more than almost anyone.	A policeman knows about as much as most people.	A policeman knows less than most people.	A policeman knows less than anyone.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
38.	A policeman is always a leader.	A policeman is almost always a leader.	A policeman is sometimes a leader.	A policeman is seldom a leader.	A policeman is never a leader.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
39.	A policeman protects me more than anyone protects me.	A policeman protects me more than most people do.	A policeman protects me about as much as other people do.	A policeman protects me less than other people do.	A policeman protects me less than anyone.

(Efficacy Reactions - Three Governmental Levels)

40. The people in the government who care most about what my family thinks are: (circle your answer)
    A. those in the Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government
    B. those in the state government in Tallahassee
    C. those in the United States Government in Washington, D.C.
41. If my family asked for help from the government, it could most likely get that help from: (circle your answer)
    A. the United States Government in Washington, D.C.
    B. the Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government
    C. the state government in Tallahassee
42. Of the three governments listed below, which do you think is most likely to give citizens a chance to say what they think? (circle your answer)
    A. the Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government
    B. the United States Government in Washington, D.C.
    C. the state government in Tallahassee

43. Of the three governments listed below, which do you think is the easiest to change? (circle your answer)
    A. the United States Government in Washington, D.C.
    B. the Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government
    C. the state government in Tallahassee
44. Of the three governments listed below, the one which does the most for people like my family is: (circle your answer)
    A. the state government in Tallahassee
    B. the Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government
    C. the United States Government in Washington, D.C.

(Trust Reactions - Three Levels of Government)

45. Of the three governments listed below, which do you think is the most honest? (circle your answer)
    A. the United States Government in Washington, D.C.
    B. the Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government
    C. the state government in Tallahassee
46. Of the three governments listed below, which do you think is the least wasteful of the tax money it gets? (circle your answer)
    A. the Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government
    B. the state government in Tallahassee
    C. the United States Government in Washington, D.C.
47. Of the governments listed below, which do you think can be most trusted to do what is right? (circle your answer)
    A. the state government in Tallahassee
    B. the United States Government in Washington, D.C.
    C. the Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government
48. Of the three governments listed below, which do you think has the smartest people? (circle your answer)
    A. the United States Government in Washington, D.C.
    B. the Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government
    C. the state government in Tallahassee
49. Of the three governments listed below, which do you think does the best job of benefitting all the people it is supposed to serve? (circle your answer)
    A. the state government in Tallahassee
    B. the Alachua County/Jacksonville City Government
    C. the United States Government in Washington, D.C.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. In general, what kind of job do you think the President is doing?
2. Can you name something the President is doing that you think is very good? (if so - what is it?)
3. Can you name something you think the President is not doing well? (if so - what?)
4. If you wrote a letter to the President about something you believed to be important, would he care about what you had to say?
5. If you wrote a letter to the governor about something you believed to be important, would he care about what you had to say?
6. If you wrote a letter to your county commissioner/ mayor about something you believed to be important would he care about what you had to say?
7. Can you name something that you think the U.S. Government in Washington D.C. is doing that is very good? (if so - what?)
8. Can you name something that you think the Alachua County/ Jacksonville City government is doing that is very good? (if so- what?)
9. Can you name something you think the U.S. Government in Washington D.C. is <u>not</u> doing well? (if so - what?)
10. Can you name something you think the Alachua County/ Jacksonville City government is not doing well? (if so - what?)

FOOTNOTES

1. See: Benjamin S. Bloom, Stability and Change in Human Characteristics, John Wiley and Sons, N.Y., 1964 and Jerome Kagan and H.A. Moss, Birth to Maturity: A Study in Psychological Development, John Wiley and Sons, N.Y., 1962.

2. Jack Dennis,"Political Learning in Childhood and Adolescence: A Study of Fifth, Eighth, and Eleventh Graders in Milwaukee Wisconsin," Technical Report #98, Center for Cognitive Learning, The University of Wisconsin, October, 1969.

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5. Virginia Schnepf, A Study of Political Socialization in a Subculture (Ph.D. dissertation), University of Illinois, 1966.

6. Schley R. Lyons, " The Political Socialization of Ghetto Children; Efficacy and Cynicism," The Journal of Politics,Vol.32, #2, May 1970, pp. 288-304.

7. Edward S. Greenberg,"Black Children and the Political System," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 34, #3, Fall 1970, pp. 333-345.

8. See: Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1965; David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System, McGraw-Hill, N.Y., 1969 and Rbt.Hess and Judith Tourney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Anchor Books, Garden City, N.Y., 1968.

9. Dean Jaros, H. Hirsch, F. Fleuron, "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Subculture," The American Political Science Review, Vol.62, June 1968, pp. 564-575.

10. Edward S. Greenberg, Political Socialization, Atherton Press, N.Y., 1970, p. 179.

11. See: David Easton and Jack Dennis,"The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms," The American Political Science Review, Vol. 61, March 1967 and David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, John Wiley and Sons, N.Y., 1965.

12. See: Easton and Dennis, " The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms," loc. cit.; Lyons, loc. cit. and Greenstein, loc. cit.

13. Easton and Dennis, loc. cit.

14. Robert Agger, Marshall Goldstein, and Stanley Pearl," Political Cynicism: Measurement and Meaning," Journal of Politics, Vol. 23, August 1961, pp. 477-506.

15. William A. Gamson, Power and Discontent, Dorsey Press, Homewood Illinois, 1968.

16. Dean Jaros, H. Hirsch, F. Fleuron, loc. cit.; Greenberg, loc. cit.; Lyons, loc. cit.; Dennis," Political Learning in Childhood and Adolescence: A Study of Fifth, Eighth, And Eleventh Graders in Milwaukee Wisconsin," loc. cit.

17. M. K. Jennings and R. Neimi, "Family Structure and the Transmission of Political Values," The American Political Science Review, Vol. 62, March 1968.

18. David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System, McGraw-Hill, N.Y., 1969 and Robert Hess and Judith Tourney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Anchor Books, Garden City, N.Y., 1968.

19. Greenstein. loc. cit.

20. See: Easton and Dennis, loc. cit.; Greenstein, loc. cit. ; Hess and Tourney, loc. cit.; and Jaros,"Children's Orientation Toward the President, Some Additional Considerations," loc. cit.

21. Jaros, Hirsch, and Fleuron, loc. cit.

22. Greenstein, loc. cit. and Easton and Dennis, loc. cit.

23. Easton and Dennis, loc cit. and Hess and Tourney, loc. cit.

24. Easton and Dennis, loc. cit.

25. Easton and Dennis, loc. cit. and Hess and Tourney, loc. cit.

26. Reported in: Angus Campbell, G. Gurin, and W.E. Miller, The Voter Decides, Row Peterson, Evanston Illinois, 1954.

27. Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms," loc. cit.

28. Agger, Goldstein, and Pearl, loc. cit.

29. Jaros, Hirsch, and Fleuron, loc. cit.; Jennings and Neimi, loc. cit. and Lyons. loc. cit.

30. David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System, McGraw-Hill, N.Y., 1968 and Hess and Tourney, loc. cit.

31. Dennis," Political Learning in Childhood and Adolescence: A Study of Fifth, Eighth, and Eleventh Graders in Milwaukee Wisconsin," loc. cit. and Greenstein, loc. cit.

32. Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American, D. Von Nostrand and Co., Princeton, 1964.

33. Angus B. Hollingshead, Two Factor Index of Social Position, Yale University, New Haven Conn. (Mimeographed).

34. Ibid. p.11.

35. Ibid. p.12.

36. Margaret E. Backman, "Patterns of Mental Abilities: Ethnic, Socio-economic, and Sex Differences," American Educational Research Journal, Vol. 9, #1, Jan. 1972. pp. 1-11.

37. L. Kish, Survey Sampling, Wiley and Son, N.Y., 1965.

38. Easton and Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms," loc. cit.

39. Lyons, loc. cit.

40. Ibid.

41. Hess and Tourney, loc. cit.

42. Greenstein, loc. cit.

43. See: Elliot S. White, "Intelligence and a Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," Journal of Politics, Vol. 30, August 1968, pp. 710-731; Easton and Dennis, loc. cit.and Lyons, loc.cit.

44. For a thorough discussion of intelligence and efficacy see: Paul R. Abramson, Political Efficacy and Political Trust Among Black Schoolchildren: Four Explanations, Michigan State University, (Mimeographed).

45. James S. Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

46. Roy T. Krosky, "Attitudes Toward Authority, Political Socialization and Political Orientations of Elementary School Children," (Ph.D. Dissertation) University of Denver, August, 1969.; and Hess and Tourney, loc. cit.

47. Abramson, loc. cit.

48. Easton and Dennis, loc. cit.; and Greenberg, loc. cit.

49. Greenberg, loc. cit.

50. Robert E. Cleary,"Are We Encouraging Political Cynicism in Our Schools?" Phi Delta Kappan, June 1970, pp. 549-553.

51. Edward S. Greenberg, "Children and the Political Community: A Comparison Across Racial Lines," Canadian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 2, #4, December 1969, pp. 471-492.

52. Gamson, loc. cit.

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6. Cleary, Robert E., " Are We Encouraging Political Cynicism in Our Schools?" Phi Delta Kappan, June 1970, pp. 549-553.
7. Coleman, James S., Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.
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10. Easton, David and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System, McGraw-Hill, N.Y., 1969.
11. Easton, David and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Acquisition of Regime Norms," The American Political Science Review, Vol.61, March 1967.
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27. White, Elliot S., "Intelligence and a Sense of Political Efficacy in Children," Journal of Politics, Vol.30, August 1968, pp. 710-731.